

LATINO STUDENTS AND BILITERACY AT A UNIVERSITY: LITERACY HISTORIES, AGENCY, AND WRITING

William Jason Stegemoller, Ph.D.
College of Education
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2009
Georgia García, Adviser

This qualitative study examines the writing and writing experiences of six bilingual (Spanish-English), immigrant university students. Immigrant students are a growing segment of university populations, but explicit/implicit language policies often overlook their unique characteristics and needs. The study draws on the continua of biliteracy model (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) as well as concepts of language as dialogic (Bakhtin, 1986) to understand and theorize participants' writing and writing experiences. It uses a constructivist paradigm (Mertens, 1998), combining narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) with aspects of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data sources included 40 hours of interviews (18 literacy history and 12 text-based interviews), and over 100 pages of student writing (from high school, university freshman composition courses, courses from students' majors, scholarship essays, creative writing, and Spanish writing), and documents including syllabi and assignment sheets. Following Ivanic's framework, data analysis centered on the participants' "autobiographical selves" (1998), with a focus on literacy histories, writing and writing experiences in the university, and the participants' understandings of themselves.

A constellation of factors in the students' literacy histories informed their experiences with language and literacy: subtractive and additive educational environments, age of arrival to the United States, education in the home language, quality

of high school experiences, and socioeconomic status. The concept of mediated agency (Wertsch, Tulviste & Hagstrom, 1993) was used to conceptualize participants' acts of "going against the grain" or accommodating the university context in their writing. The university context was often seen as challenging for some of the participants, but some contexts, Latina/Latino Studies courses and an African-American Studies course, were particularly inviting for three of the six participants. In such inviting contexts, the participants experimented more with expressing their cultural identities, or with using Spanish in their writing. The majority of the participants drew on rich social support networks as they engaged in academic writing, and chose not to utilize the university writing center.

The participants connected to writing politically (by referencing the Latino community and activism), safely (by avoiding sharing certain aspects of their identities, choosing neutral topics, and topics that met perceived expectations), and personally (by referencing personal experiences and stories). The participants developed stances toward writing that grew out of their literacy histories by: (a) seeking healing, (b) taking risks, and (c) overcoming obstacles. The participants showed ways in which their experiences developing as writers continued in the university. The participants' writing developed in that they: (a) asserted identities in writing, (b) took risks to express previously withheld aspects of their identities, and (c) negotiated how to relate their identities to the university context.

Major implications of the study focus on the importance of understanding the complexity of immigrant students' experiences and the nuances of bilingualism. Maintenance of the first language is important from a young age and may have lasting

effects into college. Home literacy instruction in the first language may play a role in downplaying the negative effects of a subtractive environment at school. Furthermore, students' home languages can be a resource that they draw on in the university as they develop their academic writing in English. Immigrant students who have experienced racism and linguistic chauvinism can benefit from explicitly safe spaces to explore these issues and it may help them develop as writers. It is important to learn more about students' use of social networks and build them into university support services.

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BY

WILLIAM JASON STEGEMOLLER

B.A., Indiana University at Bloomington, 1993
M.A., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1999

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Georgia E. García, Chair
Professor Thomas A. Schwandt
Professor Frederick G. Davidson
Associate Professor Paul A. Prior

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines the writing and writing experiences of six bilingual (Spanish-English), immigrant university students. Immigrant students are a growing segment of university populations, but explicit/implicit language policies often overlook their unique characteristics and needs. The study draws on the continua of biliteracy model (Hornberger, 1989; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) as well as concepts of language as dialogic (Bakhtin, 1986) to understand and theorize students' writing and writing experiences. It uses a constructivist paradigm (Mertens, 1998), combining narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) with aspects of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data sources included 40 hours of interviews (18 literacy history and 12 text-based interviews), more than 100 pages of student writing (from high school, university freshman composition courses, courses from participants' majors, scholarship essays, creative writing, and Spanish writing), and documents including syllabi and assignment sheets. Following Ivanic's framework, data analysis centered on the participants' "autobiographical selves" (1998), with a focus on literacy histories, writing and writing experiences in the university, and the participants' understandings of themselves.

A constellation of factors in the participants' literacy histories informed their experiences with language and literacy: subtractive and additive educational environments, age of arrival to the United States, education in the home language, quality of high school experiences, and socioeconomic status. The concept of mediated agency (Wertsch, Tulviste & Hagstrom, 1993) was used to conceptualize participants' acts of "going against the grain" or accommodating the university context in their writing. The

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Major implications of the study focus on the importance of understanding the complexity of immigrant students' experiences and the nuances of bilingualism. Maintenance of the first language is important from a young age and may have lasting effects into college. Home literacy instruction in the first language may play a role in downplaying the negative effects of a subtractive environment at school. Furthermore, students' home languages can be a resource that they draw on in the university as they

develop their academic writing in English. Immigrant students who have experienced racism and linguistic chauvinism can benefit from explicitly safe spaces to explore these issues and it may help them develop as writers. It is important to learn more about students' use of social networks and build them into university support services.

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As I wrote this dissertation about bilingual, immigrant students developing as writers in the university, my aim was to explore their literacy histories and how they interrelate with their writing and writing experiences in the university context. As I engaged in that process, I occasionally discerned parallels between the participants' experiences and my own. Once such parallel was the importance of support networks. Like the students in my study, I benefited from the support of many people, and this study would not have been possible without them.

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CHAPTER 1

PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The majority of research on English language learners (ELLs) and bilingual students in post-secondary contexts has focused on international students who usually have fairly limited exposure to life in the U.S., are generally well educated, and are relatively financially secure (Harklau, Losey, & Siegal, 1999). For the most part, these students return to their home countries after they complete their studies in the U.S. However, according to Harklau, Losey, and Siegal (1999), large numbers of students in various stages of acquiring English are graduating from U.S. high schools and continuing their education in U.S. colleges and universities. These students are immigrants, refugees, and children of immigrants who often have diverse educational histories.

Harklau and Siegal (2009) note that it is extremely difficult to estimate the number of students who speak languages other than English in U.S. higher education because colleges and universities do not routinely collect this type of information. A study by Caps, Fix, Murray, Ost, Passel, and Herwanto (2005) estimated that 19% of secondary school students are immigrants or U.S.-born children of immigrants. Caps et al. also indicated that 10% of secondary students are limited English proficient (the term used by the federal government to indicate students who receive ESL/bilingual services) or live in households where English is not the primary language. Harklau, Losey, and Siegal (1999) proposed that the number of ELLs is likely higher than what researchers estimate, because a limited English proficient designation is usually representative of only lower proficiency levels.

In the research on ELLs, a variety of terms are used to refer to students who are in the process of learning English, for example, “English language learner” (ELL) and “English as a second language” (ESL). Researchers may also use the term “U.S. resident ESL students” to refer to students who are in the process of learning English and are residents of the U.S. because they were born in the U.S. to immigrant parents. Some researchers at the university level include international students and immigrant students under the category of ELLs. Even though the two categories include students who may reflect a range of experiences and backgrounds, there are some categorical differences that tend to differentiate the two. For example, it is more likely that international students have lived in the country of their birth, where their L1 and culture often are the dominant language and culture of the broader society, and they may have attended all of their schooling in their L1. Some immigrant students are literate in their L1 whereas some are not; some have had experiences with high-quality bilingual education programs, whereas some have not had that opportunity; and some have experienced interrupted education.

The terms I use in this research to refer to students who speak English and another language are “bilingual students” and “language minority students.” Some students who are bilingual may be in the process of developing oral and literate practices, especially academic language, in one or both languages, but they may not consider themselves English language learners. I also use the terms “linguistic minority” or “language minority,” which refer to students whose home language is different from the dominant language of the society. Harklau and Siegal (2009) point out that the term emphasizes the fact that individuals who speak languages besides English in the U.S. may face

discrimination. I prefer “language minority” over “U.S. resident ELL” because some of the participants in this study do not consider themselves ELLs.

Valdés (1992) also discussed the distinction between elective and circumstantial bilingualism. Elective bilinguals choose to engage in situations that will enable them to learn an additional language. Circumstantial bilinguals, on the other hand, learn another language out of necessity, to participate in the society and due to situational factors such as immigration or political circumstances. Because of external pressures to acquire another language, circumstantial bilinguals often lose their first language, through a process called subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975), which occurs when individuals use a minority language in a context that does not support the language, and the language is gradually lost as the majority or dominant language of the context is acquired. This process can be detrimental to students on a number of levels. Chiang and Schmida (1999) pointed out that

although the linguistic gaps between L1 learning and native language loss have been documented by linguists at the macro level . . . at a personal level, the social, cultural, and emotional tensions of the disharmony have yet to be framed carefully within the theoretical and pedagogical frameworks of applied linguistic studies. (p. 82)

Louie (2009) points out that researchers pay attention to immigration and generational status because of their relation to educational attainment. She explains that the first generation is defined as individuals who are foreign-born and who immigrate at the age of 18 or older; the second generation is children of the previously mentioned group, and the third generation are children born in the U.S. to parents who were also born in the US. Some researchers have used the term “generation 1.5” to refer to immigrant students who have experiences with two different cultures, languages,

countries, and educational systems (Roberge, 2002). The term was originally coined by Rumbaut and Ima (1988) to describe experiences of Southeast Asian children. Roberge claimed that the term generation 1.5 “captures the in-between position of many different groups of students whose experiences fall between the poles of ‘native’ and ‘nonnative,’ and somewhere between the poles of U.S.-born and newcomer.” Roberge viewed the term generation 1.5 as a broad term that can encompass (p. 109):

1. “in-migrants” from U.S. territories such as Puerto Rico (Zentella, 2000),
2. so-called “parachute kids” who come to live with relatives in the U.S. and attend school here (Zhou, 1998),
3. children of transnational families who experience multiple back-and-forth migrations between their home country and the U.S.,
4. U.S.-born children of immigrants in linguistic enclave communities (Portes & Manning, 1986), and
5. immigrants who are speakers of “other Englishes.” (Nero, 1997)

Roberge’s conceptualization is applicable in the current study in which I included individuals who immigrated with their families before the age of 5 and grew up in “enclave” communities, a participant who could be considered a “parachute kid,” and an “in-migrant.” However, the broadness of the term “generation 1.5” is problematic because the individuals in each of these groups may have both significant similarities and differences.

Benesch (2009) points out that the concept of “generation 1.5” can be problematic because it views students’ language experiences as “in between” rather than “addressing the complexities of the global diaspora” in which languages are not necessarily tied to specific geographical locations (p. 70). Benesch argues that viewing students through a generation 1.5 lens leads researchers, teachers, and policymakers to

adopt “the modernist expectation that language users should develop proficiency in discrete languages tied to particular places” (p. 70).

Instead, Benesch urges a:

re-imagining of language users, not as those who must acquire a fixed system, one tied to a particular place and time, but rather as speakers who are simultaneously interpellated by dominant discourses and creative inventors of newly formed discourses born of the postmodern diaspora. (p. 70)

According to Matsuda and Matsuda (2009), colleges and universities in the U.S. have a history of developing programs to meet the needs of international students who were born and educated outside of the U.S. and came to the U.S. for university study. They note that U.S. resident ESL students have always been present in U.S. post-secondary institutions although their specific needs have not always been specifically addressed.

In 2000, Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix reported that there were almost 8 million school-aged children in U.S. public schools who spoke a language besides English at home, with the majority being Spanish-speaking (NCES, 2005). Due to growing immigration, the number of Latino high school graduates is expected to grow in all states, except Hawaii, over the next 10 years (Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2008). In addition, researchers have found that 27% of Latino students drop out of high school before graduating (Kaufman, Kwon, Klein, & Chapman, 2000), and 53% of those who attend college do not graduate (Berkner, He, & Cataldi, 2002). The growing numbers of Latino, immigrant, and language minority students, coupled with high dropout rates in both secondary and post-secondary contexts, indicate a great need to investigate these students’ experiences in order to improve access and success in educational contexts.

Literacy development is part of the complex constellation of factors that may contribute to immigrant students' success in academic contexts. Many ELLs who graduate from high school in the U.S. are still developing English language and literacy practices, especially academic language, when they enter college. Academic language refers to the type of oral and literate language skills ESL students need to learn new content taught in English and to be successful in accomplishing academic tasks in English educational settings. Cummins (1979) originally discussed this issue when he distinguished between cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) and basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS). He defined BICS as less cognitively demanding language of casual conversation and he defined CALP as "conceptual-linguistic knowledge," later defining it as the ability to engage in communicative tasks in cognitively demanding situations (Cummins & Swain, 1983).

Although Troike (1984), and others, have critiqued the BICS/CALP distinction as being too simplistic, it is useful for highlighting a possible difference between immigrant and international students. International students may have acquired CALP but not BICS due to, for example, grammar-translation approach's emphasis on reading and writing in an L2. Immigrant ELLs sometimes develop oral proficiency in English at a level that enables them to interact appropriately in social situations (BICS) before they develop proficiency in academic English (CALP). When students have a good command of oral English for social situations, it can be tempting to assume that their proficiency is also at a level where they can accomplish advanced tasks in educational settings. However, this is often not the case because it can take longer to develop CALP, the language necessary to learn the academic discourses of the specific content domains taught in schools.

To understand why many ELLs who graduate from high school in the U.S. are still developing academic language, it is useful to consider research by Thomas and Collier (1997), who showed that immigrant students who arrived in a U.S. school system between 8-11 years old, who had received at least 2-5 years of instruction in their first language in their home country were able to attain scores at grade level in reading, language arts, social studies, and science after 5-7 years of schooling in the U.S. Children who arrived at a younger age, who had little or no education in their first language in their home country, required 7-10 years or longer to reach grade-level norms. Collier (1987) showed that immigrant students who arrived between 12-15 years old did not attain scores at grade level even after 4 years of schooling, meaning that they did not reach grade level norms by the end of high school. Thomas and Collier (1997) explained that the educational background in students' first language is an important determinant of how long it takes them to reach grade-level norms in the U.S. Their work indicates that if students arrive between the ages of 8-11, they may reach grade-level norms by the time they graduate from high school. Thomas and Collier (1997) found that students' first language and formal education in that language were two of the strongest factors in predicting how long it would take immigrant students to reach grade-level norms in English. Immigrant ELLs who arrived in the U.S. between 5-7 years likely did not have the opportunity to attend formal school in their first language, enabling them to develop cognitively and academically. The students who arrived at an older age, between 12-15, had opportunities to develop cognitively and academically using their first language. However, they did not have enough time to reach grade-level norms in English in the U.S. This is partly because the cognitive demands are high in middle and high schools.

Thomas and Collier (1997) speculated that the older students may catch up with their peers if they have the opportunity to continue their education in post-secondary contexts.

The way that programs are structured for language minority students in K-12 is another issue that contributes to the fact that ELLs may still be developing academic literacy when they graduate from high school. For example, some states have banned bilingual education and require short-term structured English immersion programs (August & Hakuta, 1997). In these programs, instruction is provided to ELLs in English, and teachers attempt to adjust the level of English so that the content is accessible to students. When programs do not provide native language support, children receive few opportunities to build on their first language as they build their skills in English. Providing instruction only in English is not the best situation for developing literacy skills because research shows that students can build on their first language as they develop second language literacy (Berman, 1994; Edelsky, 1982; García, 1998; Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1996).

The extent to which immigrant ELLs have opportunities to develop the literacy or biliteracy abilities to be successful in college varies widely. The discussion on BICS/CALP and ESL programs highlights that many language minority students who graduate from U.S. high schools may still be in the process of developing academic literacy practices as they enter college. It is important to widen the discourse on K-12 ESL and bilingual education as well as college ESL and composition to fully address the needs of these students so that they have every opportunity to transition well from high school to college and to be successful in college.

To develop literacy practices and write in a second language, individuals must learn multiple linguistic systems as well as negotiate the ideologies implicit in those systems and intertwine them with their own identities (Rodby, 1992). Explicit/implicit language policies (Wiley, 1996) at universities often conceptualize all language minority students as international students (Valdés, 1992). In this situation, university writing programs and courses predominantly attempt to address international students' backgrounds and needs, but they may not recognize and address the unique backgrounds and needs of immigrant students (Bosher & Rowekamp, 1998; Harklau, Losey, & Siegal, 1999; Roberge, 2001; Stegemoller, 2004).

In order to understand the writing and writing experiences of post-secondary, bilingual, immigrant students, it is first important to examine the research with ELLs before college. Information about immigrant and language minority students' K-12 experiences is an important component that informs an understanding of their college experiences. An examination of the elementary, middle school, secondary, and college research provides a rich picture of what is known about the second language writing and writing instruction of immigrant ELLs.

At the elementary level, Buckwalter and Lo (2002) engaged a 5-year-old Taiwanese boy in literate activities in his home, and they found that some aspects of literacy development in two different languages share common underlying cognitive processes. Research by Aidman (2002) also focused on the interdependence of languages in biliterate development. Her research was carried out with her daughter in the home, where Russian was spoken, from the time she was 4-9 years old, and also included

writing the child produced in school. The findings indicated that the development of literacy in the home language enhanced development in the majority language.

Students at the elementary level do not always receive opportunities to develop biliterate abilities. For example, in Li's (2004) research with two Chinese-Canadian boys in a 4/5 mainstream classroom, she pointed out that home-school discontinuities (a situation in which linguistic, background, and/or cultural knowledge presented in schools differ from students' home lives) may create difficulty for ELLs that cause them to struggle in school. Samway (1993) examined 2nd-6th grade children's evaluations of writing in a pull-out ESL class, and showed that the instructional context had a positive impact on the participants, including observations that the children focused on meaning and placed a high value on the craft of writing. The elementary research indicates that at a young age ELLs can and do develop biliteracy, but that they often do not receive instruction that enables them to maintain and further develop it.

Middle school research focuses a great deal of attention on the impact of context and identity on second language writing. McKay and Wong's (1996) research provides a picture of the ways that implicit discourses and ideology impacted four Mandarin-speaking students' investment and agency over 2 years during 7th and 8th grades. McKay and Wong showed how cultural and racialized discourses in the context influenced the participants' investment and degree of agency. One of the findings of McKay and Wong's study focused on agency and identity. They illustrated the relationship between agency and identity with an example of a child who wanted to move out of an ESL classroom, but his identities as an athlete and a friend were more important to him, so he did not engage in behaviors that would help him move out of ESL. Hunter's (1997) work

showed how context influenced a Portuguese-speaking student's identity and investment during 4th and 5th grades, which also had an effect on his success and development with writing. In Hunter's study, the child wanted to fit in with the other boys in the classroom, and also perceived a disconnect between fitting in at school and expectations from his parents and teachers, resulting in disengagement at times.

McCarthy, García, López-Velásquez, Lin, and Guo (2004) investigated the experiences of 4th and 5th grade ELL children and found that they experienced complicated daily schedules across a variety of classroom contexts: English-speaking classrooms, ESL classrooms, and native language classrooms. One of the features of instruction was that the students were encouraged to use their native language only in certain classrooms specifically designated for native language development. The delineation of the use of the native language to specific contexts restricted the students' opportunities to draw on their first language, but the students were able to negotiate the curriculum and express some aspects of their bilingual/bicultural identities.

Valdés (1999) wrote that ELLs continue to grow and develop as writers in English in middle school settings and beyond. However, she pointed out that teachers often believe that the writing of ELLs should look the same as monolingual native speakers of English. When ELLs' writing looks different from native speakers, teachers often provide instruction only in discrete language skills and do not provide opportunities for extended writing in English. Valdés (2001) also wrote that middle school ELLs may not receive English as a second language instruction that is related to academic subjects. Valdés was concerned because even when students developed their English skills, they were kept in ESL classes that did not help them to further their learning in English

because the courses did not provide high quality content-based ESL instruction based on students' varying English proficiencies.

Reyes (1991) reported that for process instruction to be successful with ELLs, teachers need to make adjustments to make it appropriate for the specific backgrounds of students by, for example, providing students with opportunities to read and write in their home language, quality literature from both cultures, and guided discussions of books in students' preferred language. When students did not receive such instruction, their writing was brief, simple, contained few details, and included few personal details. Peyton, Staton, Richardson, and Wolfram (1990), showed that ELLs were more likely to explore writing when they chose their own topics than when they were writing about those assigned by the teacher.

Similar to the elementary-level research (Aidman, 2002; Buckwalter & Lo; McCarthy, García, López-Velásquez, Lin, & Guo, 2004), the middle school research (Hunter, 1997; McKay & Wong, 1996; Reyes, 1991) shows that it is important to facilitate ELLs to build on their bilingual and bicultural abilities and identities. However, ELLs frequently do not receive opportunities to draw on their first language. The research at the middle school level suggests that contextual factors play an important role in determining the writing instruction, development, and experiences of ELLs.

A study at the high school level that dealt with identity issues (Lam, 2000) showed that it is important to acknowledge the positive experiences with writing in which ELLs engage in non-academic contexts. The high school student in Lam's discourse analytic study was positioned as an outsider in the school context because of his "non-native" language usage. However, the teen created a webpage for his personal interests in

which he was a knowledgeable member of a community. Several studies addressed the lack of appropriate ESL instruction. Godina (1998) found that high school ELLs were placed in lower-track, mainstream classes where they did not receive ESL instruction. Harklau (1994a) showed that ELLs received restricted opportunities for peer interactions, and they were placed in lower-track classes in which they received mechanistic writing instruction (Harklau, 1994b). Other work at this level showed that students can transfer writing skills between languages (Berman, 1994), and that high school students can use peer commentary to improve their writing (Tsui & Ng, 2000).

Another line of research examined high school students' transition to college. Harklau's (2001) naturalistic study of four language minority female students found that they did not necessarily experience significantly more challenging experiences in a community college than in high school. In other qualitative work, Harklau (2000) also pointed out that institutional ways of conceptualizing ELLs as international students influences the types of programs developed for them; that is, programs are geared toward international students, not ELLs who graduated from high school in the U.S. Tarone et al. (1993) carried out correlational analyses of 8th, 10th, and 12th grade Southeast Asian students in ESL and mainstream classes as well as university immigrant students in a college prep class, international students in an ESL class, and English native speakers in a composition class. Tarone et al.'s (1993) analysis showed few changes in participants' writing from 8th grade through the beginning of college. One of the factors that correlated with writing development was age of arrival in the U.S. and first language literacy skills.

At the college level, the research is also complex because the diversity of ELLs is great. In the university context, ELLs are immigrant or international students. Researchers have differentiated immigrant and international student ELLs because they can be very different from each other in terms of educational history, socioeconomic status, social, and personal issues (Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998). Ried (1998) argued that these diverse characteristics may mean that these two groups of students have varying needs, and produce different features in their writing. Researchers have shown that one significant area of difference is that immigrant students may have more fluency in spoken than in written English (Bosher & Rowekamp, 1998; Tarone, Downing, Cohen, Gillette, Murie, & Dailey, 1993; Valdés, 1992).

One potential area of difference between these two groups is how these students deal with grammatical and lexical issues in their writing. Ferris and Roberts (2001) carried out an experiment that included immigrant and international students in writing classes. They investigated what type of feedback helped students make grammatical corrections in their writing, and they noted that the resident bilingual students may have been able to self-correct errors in their writing because of their extensive exposure to the language. They claimed that, due to exposure to language in natural settings, resident bilingual students may be better able to deal with lexical issues than international student writers. The issue of whether and how to provide grammar feedback is an area of controversy in second language writing research. Truscott (1996) contended that it is not useful to comment on grammatical issues in students' writing. Ferris (1999) disagreed, arguing for providing feedback on grammar. Ferris's correlational and experimental research suggested that it may be that resident and international bilingual students can

benefit from different types of grammar feedback, including individualized instruction, due to their differing educational and linguistic backgrounds. Ferris (1995a) carried out research in which she found evidence for the usefulness of grammar feedback. She reported that she found variability in the extent to which it was useful but maintained that individualized instruction might be most useful.

Another important part of understanding the experiences of linguistically diverse students is faculty reactions to these students. Ethnographic work by Harklau (2000) pointed out that institutional ways of thinking about students influence the types of programs developed for students. For example, the students in her study had been living in the U.S. for 6-10 years. However, the community college conceptualized those students in need of English language instruction as international students. The students in the study felt a mismatch between the instruction they received and their actual needs and experiences.

More investigations that examine the unique backgrounds and needs of immigrant, bilingual university students are needed. Research shows that ELLs build on first language skills as they develop writing abilities in English, so this is probably true for both immigrant and international ELLs. Immigrant bilingual students cannot be assumed to have a system of first language literate and oral practices and abilities to draw on that is the same as international bilingual students, who acquired their first languages in contexts where they are from the dominant language group. More knowledge of the literacy expectations and demands that immigrant ELLs are confronted with and how they respond to them are needed. The path toward academic literacy in English may be a circuitous one for many immigrant ELLs, and it is important to explore and examine the

multitude of routes that may help these students develop academic writing abilities in college and succeed.

This study examines the writing of immigrant, bilingual university students and how their literacy histories inform their writing. A modernist (Rampton, 1997) view of language conceptualizes language as an autonomous system, a way of looking at language that Newmeyer (1986) explained does not take into account “the beliefs and values of the individual speakers of a language or the nature of the society in which the language is spoken” (p. 5). Such a conceptualization implies that immigrant, bilingual students are “in between” a standard variety of language and culture.

The current research takes what Benesch (2009) calls a postmodernist perspective on language that is more capable of addressing what Rampton (1997) identifies as “fragmentation, contingency, marginality, transition, indeterminacy, ambivalence, and hybridity” (p. 330). With a view of language as fluid, hybrid, and interconnected with contexts and histories, I approached this research using a constructivist paradigm (Mertens, 1998), which posits that individuals’ views and realities are socially constructed, stemming from Husserl’s (1970) philosophy of phenomenology. I agree with Dahlberg, Drew, and Nyström’s (2001) view that phenomenology is useful for describing, but that its focus on “bracketing” off personal experiences is not realistic. I follow Dahlberg and colleagues in advocating a hermeneutic phenomenology to engage in a description of participants’ understandings as well as intentional and reflexive interpretations of them. Rather than examining the writing development and instruction of bilingual immigrant students from a neutral or an instrumental perspective, that is, one that sees writing as a neutral, discrete, cognitive function, I focused on what the processes

and experiences of developing academic literacy meant for immigrant, bilingual students. In so doing, I was influenced by a phronetic approach (Flyvbjerg, 2001), which questions values and ethics at the forefront. Two of my assumptions are that individuals have a right to their languages and that biliteracy is beneficial for individuals and societies. Methodologically, I utilized concepts borrowed from grounded theory, such as the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), combined with a narrative inquiry perspective (Clandinin & Connely, 2000).

I explored literacy from a sociocultural perspective, and I conceptualized it as an ideological entity in which linguistic processes are impacted by contextual and social factors. In doing this, I drew upon Barton's (1994) ecological framework as well as Gee's (1999) discourse analytic approach to literacy. In drawing on Barton's ecological framework and Gee's discourse analytic perspective and the use of concepts from Bakhtin and Bourdieu, I took a broad sociocultural perspective. This perspective facilitated my analysis of the interplay between individuals and their literacy histories, and how their interrelationships inform literacy practices for immigrant, bilingual, university students.

This study builds on what is known about the writing, writing instruction and development of immigrant, language minority students in the U.S. The purpose of this study is to explore how immigrant students understand themselves as bilingual university student writers and how their understandings are interconnected with broader narratives and social forces. This study specifically examines how students' writing is shaped by education, language, and identity.

The original research questions that were developed for this study are listed below.

1. What is the nature of the writing, writing experiences, and needs of immigrant ELL university students?
2. How do experiences with and perceptions of bilingualism, writing, and education relate to immigrant ELL university students' writing?

I revised the research questions for two primary reasons. Originally, my emphasis was on describing the nature of the participants' writing, writing experiences, and needs, which aligned with my purpose on neutral description. However, getting to know the participants as complex individuals realigned my stance away from neutral description. My purpose then moved toward exploring the participants' writing and writing experiences, and how their experiences played out in their understandings of themselves as writers. The revised research questions that I formulated for this study are listed below.

1. What are the literacy histories of Spanish-background, bilingual, immigrant undergraduates in their first years at a U.S. continental university?
2. What issues relate to their writing and writing experiences at the university?
3. How do these students understand themselves as writers? What kinds of texts do they produce?

In chapter 2, an explanation of the theoretical framework that guides this study and a review of literature relevant to these topics is presented. In chapter 3, I present a discussion of the methodology I used for this study and a detailed description of the specific methods I used to collect and analyze the data. Chapter 4 contains the findings of the study, and chapter 5 includes a discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Theoretical Framework

Literacy as Social, Contextual, and Ideological

I advocate conceptualizations of second language literacy that acknowledge the importance of broader forces rather than focusing only on individuals. Part of the reason for this is because of evolving conceptions of literacy. At one time literacy was conceptualized from a purely cognitive frame—it was seen as a set of discrete practices that individuals either possess or do not possess and that they can acquire over time (Street, 1984). More recent conceptualizations of literacy take a broader perspective that take into account other factors instead of, or in addition to, cognitive ones. Street (1984) outlined what he called “autonomous” and “ideological” models of literacy. The autonomous model views literacy as neutral cognitive skills that individuals possess independent of social contexts. The ideological notion conceptualizes literacy as inherently connected to values, beliefs, and power dynamics.

In this research, I draw on an ecological framework as a guide to understanding the social basis of literacy that also frames it within an “ideological” model. Barton (1994) described an ecological framework as one in which literacy is a “set of social practices” (p. 32) that are incorporated into other practices as part of cognitive and social activities. An ecological framework also examines literacy in historical contexts and within specific notions of language and learning. This framework recognizes that the way literacy practices are valued varies depending on the social and institutional context.

Barton further argued that these social practices, which are shaped by power relationships created by social and institutional structures, impact individuals' thoughts and attitudes. Gee pointed out that literacy is not a discrete entity, nor is it only a cognitive process. Rather, it is a variable phenomenon, dependent upon the community in which one is interacting. Rather than conceptualizing literacy as the ability to use reading or writing practices in socioculturally appropriate ways, it is more appropriate to think of it as the ability to use reading and writing appropriately in specific communities. This concept is subsumed under Gee's (1999) notion of discourse with a capital D. A discourse is any written or spoken language that has meaning in a particular context. Discourse with a capital D refers to the fact that language is imbued with meaning from multiple levels: grammatical structures, social languages, culture, gender, class, political milieu, etc. The emphasis of discourse with a capital D is the fact that individuals enact, and understand written and spoken language in appropriate ways in relation to larger social and cultural identities that are part of the speakers' identities. This study explores literacy as an ideological entity in which linguistic and cognitive processes are not neutral but impacted by contextual and social factors.

Sociocultural Theories

In this section I explain the background of concepts informed by Bakhtin, Wertsch, and Bourdieu. I drew on these concepts to inform my understanding of literacy and research as social practices. I begin my discussion with Bakhtin, whose ideas theorize ways in which individuals develop as part of a cultural and historical context.

Bakhtin

The main characteristic underlying Bakhtin's (1986) work is a focus on understanding the relationship between thought and language and how it is shaped by dialogue. Bakhtin argued against the sentence as the unit of analysis. Instead, he referred to speech genres, which consist of types of utterances, such as academic genres and conversations with peers. Speech genres differ depending on the situation, status, and relationships among participants. The addressee of an utterance can be physically present or historical, in the future, or dispersed. His theory posits that any utterance can be thought of as one small part of a complex of utterances, meaning that no utterance has a meaning by itself rather, communication is contextual and derives its meaning from an array of interconnections. Unique speech is developed in constant interaction with others' utterances, and all speech consists, to varying degrees, of the meanings imbued by previous speakers. Thought is shaped through this process of interaction and dialogue. The notion of speech genres will be useful in understanding academic language in the proposed research.

Bakhtin talked about two different ways of shaping thought through the utterances of others. He wrote about "reciting by heart," which referred to an inflexible, "authoritative" way of using words and utterances of others. He also wrote about "retelling in one's own words," which referred to what he called internally persuasive discourse, a creative process that can be applied to new situations. Ivanič and Camps (2001) carried out a study of second language writing that examined the ways in which the identities of writers were expressed in writing. They claimed that writers utilize lexical, syntactic, and rhetorical resources to position themselves in relation to the topic

they are writing about, their audience, and notions of literacy. An examination of the ways in which immigrant ELLs' texts convey different types of voice is a useful way of understanding the ways in which the university context and students' previous linguistic and educational backgrounds impact their writing in college.

Bakhtin (1986) contended that utterances can exist only through the concept of voice, which is the "speaking personality" that produces spoken or written utterances. His ideas indicate that speech can be used univocally, to convey meaning, and dialogically, to create new meanings. Bakhtin acknowledges that many forms of thinking exist in any context and he calls this concept "heterogeneity." His concepts of utterance, voice, social language, and dialogue (Bakhtin, 1986) can help to delineate the links among social and institutional contexts and individual writers and the texts they produce.

Wertsch (1991) interpreted and extended Vygotsky's 1978 work. By invoking key ideas from Bakhtin, Wertsch focuses on three basic themes of Vygotsky's approach. The first, mediation, refers to the fact that individuals acquire higher mental processes through the use of psychological tools. The second, genetic analysis, contends that researchers can only understand mental processes if they can trace their origins. The third theme highlights the social origins of mental functioning, meaning that it is important to understand individuals' cognitive knowledge in the broader social and cultural contexts in which people exist. Wertsch explained that Bakhtin's concepts of utterance, voice, social language, and dialogue can help explain the link between the social, cultural, and institutional contexts and mental functioning.

Wertsch (1991) argued that mental functioning must be thought of as distributed rather than existing only within the heads of each individual because individuals utilize

technical tools, physical objects in the world, to mediate knowledge and mental functioning. These tools take on meaning because of the ways they are used and the meanings that they are imbued with through their use in goal-oriented social activities. Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom (1993) further elaborated these concepts in their explanation of “mediated agency” (p. 342), which refers to individual acts that are carried out as part of a group, or those carried out using tools, mediational means that are shared because of their sociocultural situatedness.

Bourdieu

Bourdieu’s theories and their applications to educational research take an overtly sociological perspective. His ideas attempt to explain economic, class, and political issues that impact educational contexts. One of the central constructs that he developed was that of *habitus*, that is, the notion that individuals acquire a set of practices during childhood from the social context and that these practices predispose individuals to perceive and respond to reality in specific ways that are associated with the context in which they were acquired. Although these practices are ingrained in individuals from childhood, they are malleable and individuals can adapt them to new situations (Bourdieu, 1990).

Bourdieu postulates that individuals acquire *cultural capital*, forms of knowledge or experiences that imbue individuals with advantages in specific contexts (Bourdieu, 1990). Cultural capital can take different forms: it can be a part of one’s *habitus*, it can be things that individuals possess, and it can take the form of institutional qualifications, certificates, degrees, and so forth. An extension of the concept of cultural capital, is *linguistic capital*, which refers to the extent to which linguistic practices are valued in specific contexts and function as symbolic capital. The linguistic capital of students,

especially linguistically diverse students, often differs from the symbolic capital valued in educational institutions. Thus, students' prior experiences with language and literacy may not be acknowledged as valuable. Research indicates some of the ways that learners draw on their first language when developing texts in a second language (Berman, 1994; Edelsky, 1982); when their first language and prior educational experiences are not acknowledged and valued, it is more difficult for students to capitalize on them (Godina, 1998). In this research I plan to utilize the concepts of habitus and capital as a way of understanding immigrant students' experiences with literacy and whether those experiences are considered valuable in the university context.

Pierce (1995) drew on Bourdieu in her study that explored and theorized the relationship between individual language learners and social contexts. She explored the ways that six immigrant women's identities in Canada were multiple, sites of struggle, and changed over time. In her longitudinal case study that included diaries, interviews, questionnaires, and home visits, she illustrated how the participants' investment in motivation to learn was related to their social identities.

Summary of Sociocultural Framework

It is important to learn more about second language literacy from sociocultural perspectives because it facilitates understanding of literate practices in context. An awareness of the impact of contextual and social factors on second language literacy development is important in the process of developing productive ways to assist students in attaining success. Furthermore, I hope to show bilingual and biliterate development as an ongoing, flexible process rather one defined by discrete stages.

As I carried out this research, concepts of literacy as ideological, combined with the theories and perspectives of Bakhtin and Bourdieu, allowed me to focus on issues that uncovered important information about second language literacy development. This sociocultural perspective allowed me to investigate how the texts that immigrant ELL university students produced were informed by social and institutional contexts as well as by educational and linguistic background.

This framework emphasizes context and language, and it highlights the idea that language, literacy, and interaction are embedded in social, institutional, and political contexts. Furthermore, it focuses on the ways that context influences development and learning. The framework I have outlined emphasizes the cognitive and linguistic processes that are involved in the social and cultural context of learning. In addition, it facilitates understanding the relationships among linguistic and cognitive processes and social, political, and institutional issues. Utilizing concepts developed by Bakhtin (1986) highlight discourse practices and how they shape participants in the discourse. They also encourage a focus on examining the embeddedness of literate practices within discourses. Issues of social inequality, such as unequal power relationships, are particularly relevant from perspectives informed by Bourdieu (1990). The framework facilitates examining the impact of social forces, such as institutional power relationships, and how they impact literacy practices.

My aim in advocating the sociocultural perspective outlined here is that it encourages the interpretation of findings in ways that acknowledge and address the complexities and realities of second language literacy. A focus on sociocultural

approaches to second language literacy acquisition can encourage an expansive view of literacy that acknowledges its complexity.

Literature Review

This review includes large-scale studies that investigate the population of ELLs in higher education. In addition, this review provides a section that contains conceptual work that outlines issues of categorizing ELLs in higher education, and similarities and differences between immigrant and international ELLs. The bulk of this section covers what is known about the second language writing, writing instruction, and writing development of ELLs. This part of the review includes research in five different areas: elementary, middle school, secondary, transition from high school to college, and post-secondary. The review concludes with a short section dealing with faculty responses to linguistically diverse students.

Immigrant ELLs in Colleges and Universities

Immigrant College Students

Vernez and Abrahamse (1996) conducted a longitudinal survey of immigrant students in high school and post-secondary settings. The researchers included a representative sample of 21,000 students in 10th and 12th grades over a 6-year period. The study reported on students who began their education before 1980. Their data showed that the proportion of immigrant students in every grade level increased every decade from 1970 to 1990. According to Vernez and Abrahamse, immigrant high school students are more likely than those who are non-immigrant to take college-prep courses. In addition, they reported that the immigrant students in their study were more likely to attend college than U.S.-born students of the same ethnic backgrounds. Because of such

findings, Vernez and Abrahamse (1996) did not recommend that colleges and universities develop programs that are specifically designed to meet the needs of immigrant students in college settings; I disagree with their recommendation. Vernez and Abrahamse (1996) controlled for socioeconomic status in their study, however, many immigrants to the U.S. come from educated middle class backgrounds in their home countries. When they arrive in the U.S. they often move to a less affluent class level, and then many of them reap the benefits of social mobility after several years of pursuing training and certification in the U.S.

Gray, Rolph, and Melamid (1996) carried out case studies of 14 higher education institutions that looked at how colleges and universities respond to immigrant students. The study found that faculty and administrators at post-secondary institutions rarely demonstrated an awareness of the unique backgrounds and needs of immigrant students. They explained that many of their respondents indicated a belief that immigrant students fare well in post-secondary contexts and do not require special attention. The faculty and administrators believed that language skills were the biggest issue that immigrant students had to deal with. Other research, for example an ethnography by Roberge (2001), explained that language issues are not the only obstacles that immigrant students face in post-secondary contexts. They must also face, for example, different expectations of what constitutes appropriate literacy practices, courses that may not meet their specific needs, as well as the possibility of dealing with racial, cultural, and linguistic prejudices. Gray, Rolph, and Melamid (1996) discussed the complexities of addressing immigrant student issues in higher education. They pointed out that immigrants are a diverse group,

with some coming from backgrounds that provide excellent academic preparation, while others come from backgrounds in which their educations were inadequate or interrupted.

Categorizing Students in Colleges and Universities

As Gray, Rolph, and Melamid (1996) explained, the specific backgrounds and needs of immigrant ELLs in college are rarely addressed. Researchers such as Valdés (1992) recognize that the population of ELLs in higher education is becoming more diverse and complex. She explored how ELLs are compartmentalized in college language and writing programs, and she explained how current configurations may not serve students well or could even be detrimental. According to her analysis, most programs currently divide students into four different basic groups: mainstream English-speaking students, basic writers, speakers of nonstandard varieties of English, and ESL students. She explained that this division does not take into account the complexity of bilingualism; for example, students who speak two languages do not necessarily read and write in those languages. Valdés (1992) also discussed a distinction between elective and circumstantial bilingualism. Elective bilinguals choose to become bilingual by choosing to put themselves into situations that will enable them to learn an additional language. Circumstantial bilinguals, on the other hand, learn another language out of necessity because of immigration or political circumstances. Circumstantial bilinguals often lose their first language because of pressure from the broader context to acquire the majority language, which can be detrimental as Chiang and Schmida (1999) pointed out.

Another factor that complicates divisions of bilingual students is the length of time it takes to fully acquire a language. The term “incipient bilingualism” (Valdés, 1992, p. 99) refers to the period during which an individual is in the process of acquiring an

additional language. The length this period depends on factors, such as age and amount of exposure to the new language. “Functional bilingualism” is the term Valdés uses to refer to individuals who are no longer acquiring a language; it is characterized by significant variability because not all individuals reach the same level of proficiency in the acquisition process.

Valdés (1992) suggested that the complexity of bilingualism is not incorporated into current methods of designing writing courses in post-secondary institutions. She indicates that incipient circumstantial bilinguals are often placed in ESL courses designed for international student elective bilinguals, and functional bilinguals are placed in mainstream writing courses. This placement is problematic because incipient circumstantial bilinguals often have different linguistic needs than their international student counterparts in ESL courses. Furthermore, functional bilinguals may present language features that teachers of mainstream students may not understand and may consequently penalize.

Chiang and Schmida (1999) made claims about categorizing students that are similar to Valdés’ (1992) assertions. They investigated the interfaces among English literacy, language identity, cultural identity, and native language loss/maintenance. Chiang and Schmida administered surveys to 471 students in 14 sections of college writing courses at a university in California. They also randomly selected 20 of the students who filled out surveys to interview for their project. The majority of the students they surveyed described themselves as bilingual; however, during interviews, they revealed that they were not fluent in their home language, which was Chinese. The

authors maintain that categories such as ESL, bilingual, and linguistic minority are not adequate for capturing the literacy, language, and cultural realities of many students.

Immigrants and International ELLs

In colleges and universities it is important to understand the backgrounds and needs of both U.S. resident and international bilingual students. Some of the areas researchers have focused on deal with assessing student needs when developing courses (Ferris & Hedgcock, 1998) and examining linguistic differences between these two groups of students (Reid, 1998). I will briefly outline three areas that Ferris and Hedgcock (1998) argued are important for teachers to recognize: educational history, socioeconomic status, and social and personal issues. They point out that teachers who serve all linguistically diverse students should be aware that their students may have previous educational backgrounds that differ markedly from U.S. educational models. U.S. resident ELLs, many of whom are refugees or children of refugees whose education may have been interrupted for a period of time, often have unique educational histories that differ in important ways from international students. Others may have experienced difficulty developing literacy skills because they arrived in the U.S. before developing literacy skills in their first language. International students in the U.S. frequently study at the graduate level and are academically successful.

Socioeconomic status affects these two groups differently as well. Immigrant students must not only excel academically in the U.S., but often they must also secure employment. Many have pressures outside of school because they must work, and sometimes they have other family members who rely on them for financial support. Financial issues are a fact of life for all students; however, international students

frequently must demonstrate proof of adequate funds to cover their expenses before they enroll in an academic program in the U.S.

Another area Ferris and Hedgcock (1998) discussed is that both immigrant and international students tend to socialize and affiliate with peers from their own linguistic and/or cultural background. This can lead to a situation in which they use English in academic contexts and their first language for most other situations. For U.S. resident ELLs this can result in attaining a high level of bilingualism and biculturalism. However, they note that frequently these students have difficulty negotiating between these two linguistic contexts. International students can also become isolated when they have few opportunities to socialize outside of communities made up of other students from similar linguistic backgrounds.

Reid (1998) focuses on how differing backgrounds of US resident and international ELLs cause them to produce different linguistic features. She notes that US resident ELLs usually receive some language support in school, for example through pullout programs, but they do not always receive extensive, high quality language instruction. These students have varying levels of bilingualism and literacy skills in their first language, depending on what age they begin their education in U.S. schools. She describes them as “ear” learners (p. 4) because they subconsciously learn vocabulary and form grammar rules through their ears by listening to the language. The result is that they have good English fluency, and they are conversant in the slang and youth culture of their peers, but their skills are limited in other areas. Their reading abilities may be impeded due to a number of factors: A limited understanding of the structure of the English language, lack of L1 literacy skills, or a lack of experience with reading. Their writing

also exhibits conversational qualities that likely derive from “ear-based” learning (p. 5). Their writing frequently contains self-developed language rules, and fossilized forms. In terms of vocabulary, they usually have a good command of idiomatic usage, but may demonstrate some confusion with oral language.

Second Language Writing Research

This section covers what has been investigated and written about the writing development and instruction of immigrant students in the U.S. in elementary, middle school, and secondary contexts as well as the transition from high school to college. I include research in all of these contexts because the university immigrant bilingual students in my study were students in the U.S. at these levels before they entered college. The studies within each of the sections of the review are organized by type of study: sociocognitive, cognitive, sociocultural, ethnographic, identity research.

Elementary Research (K-6th Grade)

The research at this level consists of sociocognitive and sociocultural studies.

Sociocognitive Research

Researchers have shown that the development of L1 and L2 literacy likely relies on similar underlying cognitive processes. Buckwalter and Lo (2002) examined the emergent biliteracy in Chinese and English of a 5-year old boy from Taiwan. The aim of their study was to determine some ways that Chinese and English emergent literacy development may be similar or different. They found that some aspects of literacy development seem to be common to both languages even though they utilize different orthographic systems.

Although literacy development in different languages likely draws on similar cognitive processes, broader contextual factors are different. For children, second language literacy development often takes place in a context where the second language is a dominant language, and the first language, the home language, plays a less significant role in the context. Aidman (2002) conducted a case study of a child developing biliterate abilities in Russian, and the majority language of the context, English. The focus of the study was how the child developed abilities to write different genres and how the two languages influenced each other. The author maintained that the child's development of literacy practices in her home language enhanced her development of literacy practices in the majority language.

Samway (1993) conducted research that dealt with instructional issues. Her work examined the ways that nine ELL children in second through sixth grades evaluated writing. She specifically investigated the criteria her participants used to evaluate writing, the ways authorship influenced evaluation, and the extent to which the students' ages influenced the criteria they used to evaluate writing. Samway collected data in two classrooms, one second/third and one fourth/sixth classroom, taught by the same teacher. She described the teacher as enthusiastic and the classrooms as environments where writing was highly valued as a form of communication, not just for language practice. Samway selected six different texts written by fifth graders that represented a variety of writing strengths and weaknesses. She asked each of her participants to read the texts and evaluate them. They evaluated the texts through an interview that the researcher conducted in which she asked the participants to describe their evaluations of the texts. In

addition to the six texts that all of the participants read, she also asked them to discuss their evaluations of their own writing.

Samway (1993) analyzed her data by utilizing the following codes: retelling, liking, surface features, understanding, crafting, value-related, entertainment, real/fictional, audience response, and miscellaneous. She found that the participants in her study had a highly developed knowledge of writing that enabled them to articulate their thoughts. Much of the writing that the students read contained mechanical errors, but they consistently focused on content and meaning within the texts. The participants' emphasis on meaning within the texts was consistent across age and authorship. The findings showed that 47% of all student comments were related to crafting. Both classrooms showed the same trend: crafting comments made up 32% of the comments in the second/third classroom and 60% in the fourth/sixth. Samway contended that the participants in her study were influenced by their teacher, who was enthusiastic about writing, and created an environment that emphasized writing for communication.

Sociocultural Research

It is important to keep in mind that children developing L2 literacy often experience difficulties when they face literacy practices in school settings that are different from their homes. Li (2004) examined the experiences of one 4th grade and one 5th grade Chinese language background student. She wanted to understand the circumstances behind these students' struggles in school. She conducted classroom observations, interviewed students, their parents and teachers, and collected samples of student work. Li explained that the 4th grade student was in a classroom in which the teacher wanted the students to use only English; however, the student spoke Cantonese a

great deal, which caused problems between him and his teacher. He had limited vocabulary in English and he struggled with reading in English. The 5th grade student also spoke Cantonese at school, but he limited his use of Cantonese to free time and less structured class times. His teacher believed that he had well-developed oral English skills, but that he needed to continue developing reading and writing skills. Li found that some of these students' school struggles resulted from home-school discontinuities in areas such as literacy practices and school practices. Li pointed out that the children, their parents, and their teachers appeared to have different concepts of what it means to read. For example, the teachers sometimes assigned reading as homework; however, the parents did not think of reading as an activity to engage in as homework.

The research at the elementary level provides insights into the early stages of writing development for ELLs. It suggests that biliteracy is an asset for children that they can develop if they are provided appropriate instruction, which is not always available. The research shows that if they are provided opportunities and instruction, ELLs draw on their first language as they develop writing abilities in a second language. The research in this area suggests that immigrant ELLs at the college level may not have had opportunities to build on their bilingual and bicultural identities as they developed writing abilities in English.

Middle School Research (6th -8th Grades)

The research in this area includes ethnographic, sociocultural/identity, and cognitive studies.

Ethnographic Research

Valdés conducted research that looked at the experiences of immigrant children in public schools in the U.S. The primary goal of the study was to explore the experiences of immigrant students and how they acquire English in school in the U.S. The study utilized ethnographic methods to develop rich descriptions of participants' lives. Valdes carried out this work for 2 years with two Latino focal students. One participant, Lillian, was 12 years old at the beginning of the study, and in the sixth grade. Before coming to the U.S., Lillian was schooled in a rural area in Mexico, and her parents spoke only Spanish. The other participant, Elisa, was also 12 years old at the beginning of the study and in the sixth grade. Elisa went to school in a rural area in Honduras before coming to the U.S., and her parents knew some English.

Valdés (2001) collected data by carrying out classroom observations and taking notes or tape recording the classes. She also assessed the participants' reading, writing, speaking, and listening abilities in English at four points during the study. Data analysis consisted of constructing portraits of each of the participants. The researcher intertwined detailed information about the students' lived experiences with data about their language development.

One of the main findings was that the children in the study were all placed in ESL classrooms, and once there, it was difficult, if not impossible for them to move out of ESL courses. In these classes, the English language learners were isolated from English-speaking children in the school, and they had few opportunities to interact in English, or to listen to or produce extended discourse in English. The primary focus of the courses was to work through textbooks, go over grammar points, and study vocabulary. The ESL

courses rarely made connections with the academic subject matter that the children needed. The courses were entirely in English and even the students who had more advanced literacy skills in Spanish were not assisted in transferring those skills to English.

This study sheds light on the fact that language acquisition is a complex and multifaceted process. It also points out that immigrant students face a number of obstacles during their time in school and that many of the policies in place do not assist them in learning English, accessing the curriculum, or becoming successful.

Valdés (1999) discussed the data from her extensive study of Latino immigrant students' experiences with education and language acquisition. She showed that factors such as academic and family background, instruction, determination, and talent seemed to impact their development. She pointed out that teachers in secondary school settings often assume that if immigrant students are no longer taking ESL classes, it means that their writing should look very similar to that of native English speakers. When teachers who know little about second language literacy are faced with writing that contains non-native-like features, their first instinct is to assume that the student needs an ESL course with remediation in grammar and mechanics. When this happens, the students receive little opportunity to express their ideas in extended written discourse. Valdés points out that because of misconceptions about second language acquisition and literacy development, and many mainstream teachers' inability and/or unwillingness to work with English-language learners, a divide exists that keeps the students separated from mainstream courses.

Reyes (1991) examined process approaches to writing instruction with bilingual middle school students who spoke Spanish as their first language. Process approaches to writing instruction recognize the social nature of writing by incorporating an emphasis on audience, purpose, drafting, sharing, and discussing writing. Reyes specifically focused on the use of literature logs and dialogue journals. She pointed out that these can be useful approaches to literacy instruction, but she was also aware that they may not always be implemented in a way that is helpful.

Reyes conducted the study in a Spanish-English bilingual language arts class in an urban school district. The class was selected because the teachers were bilingual in Spanish and English, were committed to writing process pedagogy and whole language philosophy, and permitted writing in Spanish and English. Reyes selected five male and five female sixth grade students from the class as case studies. The mean age of the students was 12.1 years, and they spoke Spanish as their first language. Data collection consisted of roughly 7 months of dialogue journals and literature logs resulting in a total of 357 writing samples. The participants were also followed for 4 days, and then Reyes returned for weekly observations.

The data were coded and analyzed to find emerging themes, and how the themes affected length and complexity. Reyes also noted the language used by the students and teacher when responding to students as well as instances of codeswitching, and data regarding students' self concepts and writing skills.

The data showed that students could write in English or Spanish in dialogue journals, but were expected to use only English in the literature logs. The students were more successful with the dialogue journals than the literature logs. In the dialogue

journals, they were able to write about topics they chose, that were culturally relevant, familiar, and personally important. Furthermore, the students were allowed to write in Spanish in the dialogue journals. The literature logs were expected to be “business-like” and although students produced written texts, the construction of meaning and complex ideas suffered.

Reyes stressed that the dialogue journals and literature logs may be appropriate and useful activities for English-language learners, but only if they incorporated social, cultural, and linguistic adaptations for the specific students. She suggested that adaptations include: providing students with opportunities to read and write in Spanish, explicit instruction in strategies for selecting books, providing quality literature from both cultures, providing multiple copies of books to help students check their comprehension with other students reading the same book, and guided discussions of books in students’ preferred language.

Socio-cultural and Identity Research

Another line of research examines the impact of context on the writing development and instruction of ELLs. McCarthey, García, López-Velásquez, Lin, and Guo (2004) used case study methods to examine the writing opportunities of 4th and 5th grade ELLs. One of the aims of this study was to fill a need for more information about the writing development of ELLs and the characteristics of contexts that are supportive of their development. The researchers examined the writing opportunities in ESL classrooms, native language classrooms, and all-English classrooms, the students’ perceptions of the writing contexts, how the students examined the various contexts, and how students explored their linguistic and cultural identities.

The participants included four all-English classroom teachers, two ESL teachers, two Mandarin native-language instructors, and one Spanish native-language instructor. In addition, the study included 11 students, 6 of whom spoke Mandarin, and 5 who spoke Spanish. The researchers observed literacy instruction, and they also followed the students for an entire school day, conducted interviews, and collected writing samples.

The findings indicated that the students had many opportunities throughout the school day for writing. One of the issues that complicated writing instruction and development was the fact that the students had disjointed schedules, which made it difficult to coordinate instruction. The students were encouraged to write in their native languages only in the native-language classrooms, which limited opportunities for exploring linguistic and cultural issues.

The students in this study were asked to engage in tasks related to academic content, for example writing summaries of books. These tasks did not lend themselves to allowing students to write about and share their bicultural identities. However, the students were able to express their bicultural identities in open-ended journals. When students were asked to write about topics that the teachers selected for them, this sometimes caused confusion and resistance in the students. For example, a child from Central America expressed disdain for some of the topics his teachers asked him to write about, for example, “your best day.” He said that in his home country teachers would not ask students to write about such topics. Some of the students complied with assignments, but only minimally. The teachers in this study attempted to implement process writing by, for example, focusing on purpose in writing. This was not always successful, for example, when asked to write a thank you letter after a field trip, a Taiwanese child was

confused because he did not understand why he would write a letter to someone he did not know, especially after the class had already expressed thanks on the day of the event.

McKay and Wong's (1996) research emphasized the identities of middle school students and how they interrelate with school contexts and literacy development. They explored the ways in which immigrant students were situated in contexts that impacted their development in multiple ways. The purpose of their research was to explore the varying identities of students in different contexts. They explored why some students utilized successful strategies in some contexts, but not in others. Also, they sought to better understand why some students utilized strategies that did not align with the expectations of the situations. McKay and Wong conceptualized second language literacy from a perspective that encompasses context as a key factor rather than focusing solely on individual learners.

The researchers explored these issues by carrying out a 2-year ethnographic study. The data consisted of observations of writing instruction, writing activities, writing samples, observations of ESL classes, as well as other content classes. The participants included four Chinese-speaking immigrant students as 7th and 8th graders. All of the students had been in the U.S. for less than a year at the beginning of the study and they were still in the beginning stages of learning English. The study also included a male 7th grade ESL teacher and two female 8th grade ESL teachers.

McKay and Wong (1996) identified implicit ways of thinking in the classrooms that affected the literacy development of the students. These cultural, racialized, gendered, social, and academic discourses impacted student agency and investment in the classroom. They influenced the participants' investment as well as the extent to which

they exercised agency, and this interacted with students' literacy development, and the ways they represented themselves in writing. One of the findings in this study was that for some students it was more important for them to exercise agency than to develop investment. For example, one student wanted to move out of the ESL classroom. However, because of the way he positioned himself in the school, as an athlete and a friend, it was more important for him to develop oral language rather than written language.

Hunter (1997) also sought to understand the interrelationships of identities and how those identities impacted writing development. She built on McKay and Wong's (1996) notion that it is important to take a contextualist perspective in order to understand second language literacy development. Hunter carried out a microethnography that focused on an immigrant child in 4th-5th grade who spoke Portuguese at home. The researcher conducted interviews and also collected naturalistic observations twice a week. During writing instruction the data collection focused on the participant's interactions with peers and the teacher. The researcher also collected the writing produced by the participant, which was analyzed by examining the content as well as the contexts in which it was produced.

Hunter found that at the beginning of the study the participant's writing most often dealt with issues related to his family, relationships, or emotions. This, coupled with the fact that he had problems spelling, facilitated the construction of an identity as an outsider for him. The other boys in the classroom were interested in television, and movie characters, many of which were violent depictions. In the second year of the study, when the participant was in 5th grade in a 5th/6th split class, he began to develop an

identity as an active participant in the classroom. Hunter argued that the participant continued to perceive himself as a “deficient” student because of the conflicting school, peer, and family identities that he negotiated. He wanted to align himself with the other boys in the class who had an affinity for popular, often violent, characters, but he also did not want to break school or family rules. This result is that he was sometimes unengaged, he often did not write, or he left texts unfinished, which was constraining for his writing development.

Cognitive Research

Peyton, Staton, Richardson, and Wolfram (1990) conducted a study to develop an understanding of what types of tasks contributed to the development of certain features of writing. The researchers indicated that their aim was to take into account contextual features that influence writing, and they approached this goal from a post-positivist perspective. The contextual features that they manipulated were: topic choice (selected by student or by teacher), student knowledge about a topic (extensive or limited), audience (familiar or unspecified), and response type (for communication or for a grade). The purpose was to find out how writing task influenced features of good writing defined in terms of quantity, complexity, focus, and cohesive quality.

A 6th grade class was chosen as a site for this study, and 12 of the 26 students in the class were invited to participate. They were evenly distributed by sex (6 males and 6 females). ethnicity (6 Asian, and 6 Latino), and proficiency level (4 high, 4 medium, 4 low). The researchers collected students’ dialogue journals, which were considered examples of unplanned, interactive, and personal pieces of writing. They also collected a

thank you letter written to another teacher in the school, a compare/contrast essay, and a letter to a friend suggesting that they watch a TV program.

The researchers devised ways to operationalize the qualities of writing they wanted to focus on (quantity, complexity, focus, cohesiveness) and they performed *t* tests for matched pairs, as well as ANOVAs to compare the different types of writing tasks. The findings indicated that the dialogue journals yielded equally high or higher quality writing in terms of quantity and linguistic expressions as assigned writing. The authors suggested that this indicated that ESL students are more likely to explore and demonstrate a wider range of their writing abilities in self-chosen topics in which writing is carried out for a genuine purpose rather than only for a grade.

The middle school research shows it is important for ELLs to engage in meaningful tasks to develop writing practices in English. As in the elementary research, the middle school studies also indicate that students do not always engage in meaningful writing activities. Much of the research at the middle school level indicates that contextual factors are a key issue in determining the type of instruction ELLs receive as well as the ways students respond to it.

The study provides fine-grained detail of contextual, social, and linguistic factors that impact the educational and literacy development of English language learners. Valdés (2001) highlighted the fact that ESL contexts often provide limited interaction, and few opportunities for extended written discourse. Reyes' (1991) work emphasized the fact that literacy activities that were designed for mainstream classrooms may be fruitfully used with bilingual students only if they are adapted so that they are appropriate for the students' linguistic, educational, and social backgrounds. These two studies

underscore the necessity for structured, linguistically, and culturally appropriate instruction that engages students in genuine communication.

Secondary Research

This section contains research that deals with students in grades 10-12 and includes ethnographic and cognitivist research.

Ethnographic Research

Godina (1998) carried out an ethnographic study of Mexican background high school students in a rural setting. His study sought to understand the literacy practices of a group of Latino high school students in three different contexts: home, school, and community. Godina chose 10 diverse students for his study, some of whom had lived in the community for many years, some were new arrivals, some were Spanish-dominant, and some were English-dominant.

Godina (1998) found that his participants' home literacy practices were made up of, for example, reading books and newspapers in Spanish, and oral and written translations. He found some variation existed between the male and female students. In the school context, the students were conceptualized in terms of their English-speaking status, meaning that the primary concern of the school was focused on how to get the students to speak standard, academic English. School personnel placed most of the participants in low-track English courses that focused on discrete reading and writing skills. The students found the activities in these courses boring and irrelevant, and that the courses did not recognize nor build upon the literacy practices that the students engaged in at home. One of the primary assumptions that the school personnel advocated was that the English classroom was the best place to develop language skills for students whose

home language was Spanish. Godina's study showed that this was not true. In his study, the teacher in the science classroom utilized sheltered techniques that enabled students to access the curriculum and learn. Sheltered English techniques are methods teachers can use to help facilitate understanding and communication for ELLs through the use of, for example, gestures, visual aides, and demonstrations. The science teacher did not have a theoretical understanding of sheltered English techniques, so he was unable to guide other teachers in how to utilize those techniques with the Spanish-dominant students.

In general, the school was not a positive environment for the students' language and literacy development because no bilingual materials were available, no teachers except for the science teacher utilized sheltered techniques, and the use of Spanish was discouraged. The participants in Godina's (1998) study found the public library to be a context where they could access materials and services that addressed their bilingual identities.

In a 3½-year-long ethnographic study of students in a suburban high school, Harklau (1994a) used observations of mainstream classes and ESL classes and interviews to compare ESL and mainstream learning environments. In this study, she closely examined the specific instructional and linguistic differences between the two learning environments. She found that the contexts differed in two main ways. The first was in the organization and goals of instruction, such as how spoken and written language was used in classroom activities, how teachers' goals affected course content, and the degree to which teachers used explicit language instruction and feedback. The second area of difference was in "socializing functions of schooling" (p. 262). Harklau pointed out that schools function not only to transmit information and knowledge, they also function as

sites where youth develop friendships, participate in extracurricular activities, and learn about future career and educational opportunities. Her study found that opportunities for these types of peer interaction and activities, as well as academic counseling, differed for ESL and mainstream students. She concluded from this study that bilingual and ESL classes were often regarded as burdensome extra programs and that one of the most urgent needs at the school was to “increase mainstream practitioners’ and administrators’ awareness of and sensitivity to learner needs” (p. 268).

Harklau (1994b) discussed the impact of tracking on the education of linguistic minority students. She noted that the high school where she conducted her study had a diverse student body, but a relatively small number of students identified as speakers of languages other than English, and the school had few developed programs for these students. The students participated in ESL courses for a period of time, after which the administration transferred them to mainstream classes. The students were most frequently placed in low-track classes, which she reported did little to prepare them to utilize academic language. For example, the teachers provided predominantly mechanistic writing instruction and decontextualized reading instruction. She explained that the students had little power over their track placement because of the complex interplay of factors that created and maintained the system of tracking. Harklau concluded that tracking does not benefit ELLs. She also pointed out that because some schools are not prepared for these students, low-track courses are often the only strategy provided for their education.

Lam (2000) used an ethnographic, discourse analytic approach to examine the internet as a site for literacy development. The study situated itself within the literature

on literacy studies, second language learning, and computer-mediated communication in order to examine discourse practices and identity formation in a computer environment. The research questions for this study were: How do internet communities interact and function as contexts for second language literacy use and development? What forms and functions of texts does a computer-mediated environment afford? How are learners' identities constructed in a second language through computer-mediated communication?

This study consisted of a case study of a high school senior who arrived in the U.S. from Hong Kong at age 12. This student was bilingual; he spoke Chinese with friends inside and outside of school. He felt that he was positioned as an outsider because of his "non-native-like" English. The data consisted of interviews, 50 log files of on-line chat, and e-mails from the participant's home computer, as well as field notes of observations of the student during computing activities. The data were analyzed by looking at the interactional patterns in the discourse. The research used a critical perspective to gain insight into how the participant's membership and interaction in discourse communities functioned to sustain, maintain, and transform social relationships and identities.

Lam (2000) reported that the participant created a webpage for a website related to Japanese pop culture. Through the site, he interacted with a community of Japanese pop culture enthusiasts, and he represented himself as a knowledgeable member of the community through on-line and e-mail communication, and through his webpage.

This research pointed out the necessity to explore students' literacy experiences outside of school contexts. The participant in this study felt marginalized and excluded in his classroom English language experiences. On the other hand, he developed a sense of

belonging and validity as a member of an on-line community. These findings indicate a need to understand the possible disjunctures between students' chosen discourse communities, and literacy use, and the ones that are dominant in school settings.

Cognitive Research

Berman (1994) conducted research with 26 Icelandic secondary school students that examined the transfer of essay organization skills between languages. Two of the main goals of the study were to obtain evidence to determine in which language it is best to carry out writing instruction, the students' native language, or the target language. The other goal was to determine if students' grammatical competencies in the target language affected their ability to transfer writing skills between languages. The researcher pointed out that disagreement exists about the extent to which grammatical proficiency is a factor in the transfer of writing skills, and this study was an effort to address that issue.

The researcher approached this study from a post-positivist perspective and it was carried out in Iceland with high school students. The researchers investigated whether or not Icelandic secondary students transfer newly learned writing skills in Icelandic to their English writing. They also examined whether or not the level of English grammatical proficiency affected the participants' ability to transfer writing skills from Icelandic to English. Three classrooms at three different secondary schools were randomly assigned to three groups of students who received: (a) writing instruction in English (b) writing instruction in Icelandic, and (c) no instruction. Fourteen class periods were utilized for instruction and administering the writing test. The students learned about paragraphs, audience, transitional devices, outlining, and they participated in whole class, group, and individual activities.

Writing pre- and post-tests were administered to the students in both English and Icelandic and they were evaluated by analyzing the thesis, argument, conclusion, organization, and grammar. The results of *t* tests showed that the students who learned about essay writing in English attained significantly higher English post-test scores than those who received no instruction. The students who received writing instruction in Icelandic also attained higher English post-test scores than those who received no instruction. The authors claimed that English grammatical competence impacted the participants' transfer of writing skills from Icelandic to English and suggested that the results indicated that the use of students' first languages can be useful in second language writing instruction. However, it should be noted that students at lower proficiency levels would likely be less able to transfer L1 skills to L2 writing.

One of the predominant themes in the high school research was that students frequently do not receive ESL instruction, or they receive instruction that does not prepare them for demanding academic writing. Research does indicate, however, that students would likely benefit from instruction that utilizes their first language and from collaborative writing activities.

Transition from High School to College

Lucas, Henze, and Donato (1990) pointed out that most of the work on language minority students had been conducted within elementary schools and so it is important to investigate how secondary schools serve those students. They conducted case study research to explore the characteristics of five high schools in California and one in Arizona that were successful in educating language minority students. They defined successful high schools by considering attendance rates, drop-out rates, numbers of

Latino language minority students going to college, and standardized test scores compared to other high schools with high numbers of language minority students. They carried out interviews with the principals, a superintendent, program directors, counselors, and teachers and aides. In addition, they interviewed 135 students, and collected questionnaires from 35 newcomer and 89 non-newcomer students. Based on their data, they described eight features as important in promoting the success of language minority secondary students. Two of the primary features are that (a) value is placed on the students' languages and cultures and (b) high expectations of language-minority students are made. They asserted the importance of learning about students' cultures, and languages, and encouraging students to develop their home language skills, providing programs to help students prepare for college. Lucas, Henze, and Donato pointed out that it is important not to minimize differences among students, but to address and explore them and to value linguistic and cultural diversity.

Ethnographic

Harklau (2001) conducted a qualitative study in which she tracked a group of English language learners through their last semester of high school and first semester of college. This study examined how literacy practices differed in high school and college contexts, and how students perceive and experience those differences. Four students participated in the study, and she interviewed each of them every 2-4 weeks during their last semester of high school and their first semester of college. She also interviewed teachers, conducted classroom observations, and examined the students' course materials. She found that high school textbooks prepared the students for the required reading in college survey courses. The study also showed that the students did more extensive

writing in high school than in college. Harklau points out that the students did not experience significantly more demanding literacy expectations in college than in high school. She argues that it is important to reevaluate popular notions of what entering college students find difficult or unique about reading and writing in postsecondary settings and to consider the ways that literacy practices and the demands they place on students may be quite different in high school than in college. It is important to understand high school literacy practices in order to understand students' experiences of college literacy demands.

In another study using case studies, interviews, observations, and document analysis, Harklau (2000) investigated how representations of ESL learners were created and resisted in multiple contexts within urban high school and community college settings. She also examined the consequences of these representations and explained that, although the participants encountered significant variation in curricula and experiences, there were many consistencies in how the two institutions represented the students. In the high school setting, the faculty saw the students as “kids with determination” (p. 45) and “an inspiration for everyone” (p. 46). In the community college setting, the faculty frequently positioned them as international students, and often asked them to talk about their countries. She concluded that the programs that are developed for ELLs, placement tests, evaluation, and exit procedures are influenced by the institutional representations of these learners.

Cognitive

Tarone et al. (1993) carried out a study that specifically investigated the writing abilities of a group of ELLs in high school and at college. The study was cross-sectional,

examining the writing of five groups of high school and three groups of university students. It sought to understand the writing skills of Southeast Asian immigrant students and how they correlate with background factors. They also wanted to determine how their abilities compared with native speakers of English and with other international students who planned to enter the university. The high school students consisted of: 21 in ESL level 3, eighth through twelfth grades; 19 in ESL level 4, eighth through twelfth grades; 13 in eighth grade mainstream; and 15 in tenth grade mainstream. All of the ESL students were from Southeast Asian countries. The university students included: 12 from Southeast Asia enrolled in a special ESL college writing course for low proficiency writers; 14 international students in an advanced composition course; and 19 native speakers of English in a freshman composition course. The researchers collected demographic information on all of the subjects: length of residence in the U.S., age at arrival in the U.S., and grade of entry into the U.S. school system. They also asked all of the participants to provide in-class writing samples 2 days in a row.

The results of this study indicate that little change took place in the participants' writing skills from eighth grade through the beginning of college. The international students, comprised mainly of relatively recent arrivals to the U.S., demonstrated roughly the same level of writing skill as the Southeast Asian refugee groups, which consisted of students who had been in the U.S. much longer and had been students in U.S. public schools. In their study, age of arrival in the U.S. correlated more strongly with writing scores than length of residence. For example, using Pearson Product-Moment correlation ($p = .001$, one-tailed), age of arrival correlated with writing accuracy at .76 and fluency at .73, while length of residence correlated with accuracy and fluency at .69. It was

surprising to the researchers that there was virtually no change from eighth grade to college, and they attempt to explain this by referring to Collier (1987), who suggests that second language learners who are not literate in their native language before attempting second language literacy tend to lag behind in literacy skills for a long period of time compared to learners who have been to school in their first language and developed literacy skills in that language.

Research on the transition from high school to college suggests that ELLs are likely to face literacy expectations that are quite different in college, but not all of which are necessarily more demanding. Furthermore, ELLs are often still in the process of developing academic writing skills when they enter college.

Post-secondary Research

The research in this area was conducted in colleges and universities. This section consists of ethnographic as well as cognitive research. This research differs from previous sections because most of the studies here include immigrant as well as international students. In this section, I have included the studies that specifically include immigrant ELL college students, and I have not included studies that included only international students.

Adamson (1993) reported case studies of ESL students engaged in academic tasks in secondary and post-secondary settings. The research included 34 case studies, 10 of whom were enrolled in college and 24 who were middle- or high school students. The data for the research were collected through at least 10 hours of tutoring with each of the participants as well as interviews with teachers and analyses of participants' schoolwork.

Adamson wrote that the findings of the cases indicate that reading is the most important skill for academic success, followed by listening and writing. The general findings fell into five broad categories, reading, dictionary use, note-taking, organization, speaking in class. The participants varied in the extent that they were able to tolerate ambiguity, some with a lower tolerance used dictionaries extensively, and some with a higher tolerance used dictionaries more judiciously. Note-taking differed between high school and college in that in high school teachers frequently had students copy important information off the board. The researcher found that the extent to which students were organized in their approach to school and studying was related to their interest in school and how successful they were. Most of the students, even the ones who spoke English well, did not speak frequently in class.

Adamson (1993) wrote that the case studies revealed a variation in tasks and in ways that students accomplished the tasks. One of the most important issues that Adamson drew from his findings is the distinction between coping and academic strategies. All of the students in the study experienced difficulty in accomplishing academic tasks. When the students met with difficulty, they often employed what Adamson referred to as coping strategies, including copying and memorization. If students were not able to complete a task they would sometimes look for a key word in the text and copy a sentence or larger chunk of text verbatim. When preparing for exams, many of Adamson's participants memorized word definitions or chunks of information. The students employed coping strategies in order to complete assignments, but the strategies did not lead to learning or understanding; however, they often resulted in work that was acceptable to teachers. Academic strategies, on the other hand, led to enhanced

learning of the material. The participants utilized a number of strategies, for example, they did not try to understand everything, they switched language when they took notes, and they utilized peers to discuss content.

Adamson (1993) contended that English language learners in academic settings must constantly deal with information that they do not understand or that challenges them in different ways: language proficiency, unfamiliar vocabulary, differing cultural assumptions, lack of or differing background knowledge, etc. Adamson suggests that it is important to teach students academic strategies for addressing these areas so that they do not resort to coping strategies. He found that participants often did not understand material the first time they encountered it and so academic strategies focus on ways to enhance access to material after the first encounter. Some of these academic strategies included studying with peers, discussing content in the native language, using dictionaries, and discussing with teachers inside or outside of class.

Bosher and Rowekamp (1998) sought to understand the factors that play a part in the academic success of refugee/immigrant students in U.S. higher education. They investigated the academic achievement of refugee/immigrant students in post-secondary settings by examining the role of educational background and English language proficiency in predicting GPA. Their study took place over a 3-year period during which they followed 56 participants. The participants were 75% refugees, 16% immigrants, and 9% international students. The researchers collected Michigan English Language Assessment Battery (MELAB) scores, and the students supplied information on educational background and personal history. Additionally, the authors obtained the students' GPAs for their first through third years of study. Their results showed that those

who graduated from high school in their native countries scored significantly higher on the objective portion of the MELAB, and those who graduated from high schools in the U.S. scored significantly higher on the listening portion. This is consistent with Reid's (1998) notion of "ear" and "eye" learners. Boshier and Rowekamp pointed out that their data show that academic success can be predicted on the basis of years of schooling in the native country, and objective score on the MELAB. The more schooling students completed at the secondary level in their native country, the more successful they were in the university context. This is similar to Thomas and Collier's (1997) research which indicated that if ELLs complete some schooling in their first language in their home country, they perform better on academic achievement tests in English in the U.S.

Boshier (1998) researched the writing processes of Southeast Asian college students. She specifically examined whether or not the participants differed in their writing processes, and the strategies they generated to solve perceived writing problems. She included three participants in her study who completed varying amounts of their education in their country of origin or in the U.S.: 9 years of school in Laos and 4 years in the U.S.; 1.5 years of school in Cambodia and 7 in the U.S.; 12 years of school in Vietnam and 0 in the U.S. To collect data, Boshier gave the students an article to read and then asked them to write their opinion about it. While the students were writing, she videotaped them, and afterwards she interviewed them about what they were thinking during writing pauses. She played back the videotape to spur their memories.

Boshier analyzed the data by measuring the number and length of pauses the students exhibited during writing. She analyzed the interview data by searching for themes related to attending to aspects of writing and problem-solving strategies. Two of

the three participants had greater metacognitive awareness and were better able to discuss what they had been thinking during writing. The participants also differed in the extent to which they integrated information from the reading in their writing, the level of emphasis they placed on different aspects of writing (for example, organization or language use), and the quantity and variety of problem-solving strategies they utilized. One student, who was the most fluent orally, had the greatest difficulty generating ideas. Another student was able to synthesize ideas from the article, but met with difficulty in translating her ideas from her first language into English.

Bosher (1998) pointed out that it is important not to assume that the inability of the student to explain her writing processes was due to language proficiency. That student was not less proficient in English, in fact, Bosher explained that all of the students exhibited a variety of strengths as well as areas they needed to develop in their English language skills. Bosher suggested that the results indicate that it is important to acknowledge that students who have similar overall language proficiency scores and writing sample scores may not be at the same stage in their writing development.

An important area of work specifically examines the issue of providing grammatical feedback on ELLs' writing. Grammar is an important area because it is one of the aspects of texts that is salient and that is often pointed out to bilingual students. Although bilingual students may be able to produce writing that is easy to understand, it may still contain features that do not conform to the expectations of academic writing in universities. Controversy has developed over whether students can benefit from explicit feedback on grammar in their writing. For example, Truscott (1996) reviewed the literature on this topic, and concluded that it is generally not productive for writing

teachers to provide feedback on grammar issues. Ferris (1999) argued against Truscott's claims because she says that he overemphasizes the evidence against grammar feedback. She wrote that research exists that lends credence to his claims, but that it is vastly inadequate to be able to determine that teachers should not provide any grammar feedback, especially in light of what is known about learners' different backgrounds.

Research by Ferris (1995a) suggested that grammar feedback can be useful. This study examined the effectiveness of teaching students in composition courses to find errors in their own work and correct them. Thirty subjects participated in this study, 24 of whom were immigrant ELLs who had been living in the U.S. between 4-15 years, and 6 who were international students. The researcher analyzed 57 in-class and 79 out-of-class essays. Twenty-eight of the subjects improved their ability to decrease their error percentages in their papers. These results lend some credence for the claim that students can learn to self-edit; however, the students' progress showed many inconsistencies across error types, context, and assignments. Ferris believes that this means that individualized instruction may be most beneficial. One problem with this study was that it assumed that students improved due to instruction, but the improvement could be accounted for by natural development over the course of a semester.

In another study, Ferris and Roberts (2001) looked more closely at error feedback in second language writing classes. They sought to determine whether different types of feedback have different success rates in enabling students to self-edit. They also wanted to ascertain whether differences existed in the types of errors students were able to correct. They did this by examining in-class writing diagnostics of 72 students enrolled in composition or grammar courses at a university in California. The vast majority of the

subjects in this study, 82%, were immigrant students, 55% of them were Southeast Asian, and 12% were Chinese. The researchers utilized an experimental design in which the students' essays were randomly assigned to one of two treatment groups, or to a control group. The two treatment groups were: Group A in which the researchers underlined and coded all instances of errors that fell into five different error categories; Group B in which the researchers underlined all of the errors, but they did not code them; and Group C in which the researchers returned the students' papers with no error markings.

To analyze the data, the researchers utilized descriptive statistics (frequencies, means, standard deviations), ANOVAs, and *t* tests. Their findings showed that the number of errors for each category, ranked from most to least, was: verb, sentence structure, word choice, noun endings, and articles. There were highly significant differences between the two feedback groups and the no-feedback group. Whether students received feedback made a difference; however, it did not make a difference if the students received coded or underlined feedback. The students had the most success in self-correcting verbs, noun endings, and articles. The students in the group that received no feedback were successful in locating and editing word choice errors, but not the other types of errors.

In the discussion of their results, Ferris and Roberts (2001) noted that the majority of their participants were immigrant students. They concluded that these students' extensive exposure to the language provided them with the ability to self-correct many error types in their writing, especially word choice errors. They used Reid's (1998) term "ear learner" to explain why these students were good at correcting their errors. They feel that the resident immigrant writers in their study possibly were using teacher feedback as

a guide to help them locate errors and that the students were able to tap into unconscious lexical and syntactic knowledge to correct their errors. The immigrant student writers were likely better able to deal with lexical issues than international student writers due to their exposure to language in natural settings.

One area of second language writing research that merits investigation is the role of the L1 in L2 writing. Wang (2003) pointed out that the utilization of the L1 by both “skilled” and “unskilled” writers is a common feature of L2 writing. The research on the role of the L1 in L2 writing at the post-secondary level has been carried out with international students, and Leki, Cummin, and Silva’s (2008) review of the topic implied that as L2 writing experience and skill developed, L1 use would decline. Some researchers have focused on translation (Kobayashi & Rinnert, 1992; Uzawa, 1996), as well as transfer and contrastive rhetoric (Kubota, 1998). It is important to focus specifically on how bilingual, immigrant students may draw on their first language in a variety of ways when developing texts in English.

Schleppegrell and Colombi (1997) carried out work that examined the English and Spanish writing practices of two university bilingual students. The participants were born in the U.S. and grew up in homes where Spanish was spoken. They spoke Spanish and had no formal schooling in Spanish. The goal of the study was to examine the discourse structure of the participants’ writing in Spanish and English. Schleppegrell and Colombi looked at the syntactic resources that the two writers drew on. From each participant, they collected an essay written in Spanish for a Spanish composition course for native speakers. The Spanish essays were written as homework in response to an

essay and video. They also collected an essay that each of the participants wrote for the university writing assessment, which all first-year students took.

They found that the two writers each utilized different strategies to organize their writing and that each writer utilized similar strategies in English and Spanish. The researchers analyzed both essays at a macro level of discourse organization and at a micro level of clause combination. One participant used a more evolving discourse organization with a more involved style, and clause structures consisting of chaining and elaboration. The other participant used a more planned discourse organization with a more analytical style, and clause structures consisting of simple sentences and elaboration. Schleppegrell and Colombi (1997) pointed out that the micro level clauses and macro level discourse structure mutually constitute each other. Schleppegrell and Colombi (1997) explained that their findings support the notion that ability in one language can manifest itself in performance in another language. They pointed out that the participants in their study had received no writing instruction in Spanish, and so their Spanish essays reflected strategies they had developed in English.

Lay (1988) carried out a study of four Chinese-speaking college students in which she explored the extent to which they utilized their L1 in composing in English, and why they utilized their L1. The participants were all enrolled in university ESL courses and had been in the U.S. for 1 to 5 years. She asked the participants to spend 30 minutes writing an essay in Chinese in order to assess their L1 writing abilities. Lay met with the participants three times each and had them write essays in English while engaging in a think-aloud, and she also met with them once to interview them about their perceptions of writing. The participants in her study drew on their L1 to enhance their writing. Her

findings showed that the participants used their L1, Chinese, to connect with topics and draw on past experiences to create more sophisticated writing.

Friedlander (1990) carried out an experiment to test the hypothesis that L2 writers produce more effective texts when they plan and compose in the same language that knowledge of the topic was acquired. To test this hypothesis, Friedlander recruited 28 Chinese-speaking university students and assigned them to one of two conditions. One condition, the match condition, asked participants to write in Chinese on a topic about which they acquired knowledge in Chinese, and to write in English on a topic about which they acquired knowledge in English. The second condition, the mismatch condition, was the opposite; it asked participants to write in Chinese on a topic about which they acquired knowledge in English, and to write in English on a topic about which they acquired knowledge in Chinese. The results provided evidence for more effective composition when the participants produced writing in the same language in which they acquired knowledge about which they were writing. This study is valuable in that it provides data to show that an L1 can be a resource when writing in an L2.

As research has consistently shown, first language literacy practices and instruction play a role in developing second-language literacy. Dong (1999) examined the native language writing experiences of 35 first-year college students. The majority of the participants graduated from high school in the U.S. Students wrote narratives describing their native language literacy experiences and gave interviews about their experiences. Before beginning their schooling in the U.S., most of the students attended school in their home countries and began developing a wide range of literacy practices in their first languages. The author points out that the students' stories about their native language

literacy experiences were diverse, but there were common themes. Most of the participants had received writing instruction in their first language, beginning as early as first grade. Dong reported that two-thirds of the participants believed that they wrote well in their first language. Furthermore, one-third of the students believed that their knowledge of writing in their first language was a positive influence on their writing in English. Dong pointed out that it is important for classroom teachers to explore their students' literacy backgrounds to enable them to vary their instruction in ways that will benefit their students.

In a study in a community college setting, Stegemoller (2004) investigated what type of writing is valued in the setting and how students experienced the process of acquiring advanced literacy skills. The participants in the study were one female Korean international ELL and one male Korean immigrant ELL. Data consisted of two observations of the students' ESL writing class, interviews with the students and the instructor, and samples of the writing the students produced for the class.

The data were analyzed through a process of constant comparison by reading the data and coding with themes, such as first-language literacy practices, problems with grammar and vocabulary, and so forth. One of the main issues at the college was that it provided two composition courses at the same level that were supposed to be the same except that one was for ELLs and the other was for native English speakers. The purpose of that configuration was to provide a forum where ELLs could receive the extra instruction they needed.

The instructor believed that the ESL writing program at the college recognized that some ELLs may produce non-native sentence level features in their writing but that it

was not necessary to expect ELLs to produce writing that looked exactly the same as native speakers of English. She explained that if ELLs produced writing that exhibited well-developed and organized content, they would likely be placed in the course for native speakers of English. The immigrant in this study produced writing that looked similar to a native speaker of English in terms of content and development, but it differed in terms of sentence-level features that were non-native. This student was placed in a class with native English speakers, but the instructor suggested that he move to the ESL section because of the sentence-level errors in his writing. In this study, the explicit policies of the institution were well-intentioned; however, individual teachers' personal beliefs interfered with the policies, creating an implicit policy that overrode the explicit one. The implicit policy, which was based on the assumption that the writing of ELLs should not exhibit non-native linguistic features, may have had detrimental effects for the immigrant ELL because such a policy may have resulted in providing more mechanistic instruction for ELLs rather than providing them with opportunities to engage in writing for the purposeful expression of ideas. This situation would mean that even in a post-secondary setting, ELLs may continue to face instruction that does not provide them with meaningful ways to express themselves in writing and that allows them to draw on their bilingual and bicultural identities.

Thus far I have shown that there is a focus in the literature on the role of L1 from a cognitive perspective, but there are some studies, such as Dong's (1999) that show why some individuals draw on their L1 and the meanings it has for them. The Stegemoller (2004) study showed that an international and immigrant student had different backgrounds, and the context influenced how their backgrounds were addressed. More

research is needed that draws connections between bilingual students' experiences with immigration and bilingualism and how the educational context also mediates their experiences.

Research by Lillis (1997, 2001) is important in showing connections between students' identities, the institutional contexts, and their writing. Lillis (1997) conducted research with six Black, bilingual women who were in their first year at a university in England. The women were bilingual in English and one of the following languages: Punjabi-Urdu, Patois, Arabic, or Sylheti-Bengali. The purpose of her research was to explore the experiences of the women and how the dominant conventions of the university constrained their writing practices. She carried out her research by meeting with each of the participants 4-12 times to discuss writing with them over the course of a year. They all reported feelings of being an outsider at the university, and racism. In relation to their writing, they were constrained by not knowing "the rules of the game" (p. 186). Lillis reported that one participant expressed uncertainty about how much information to include, what to include in introductions and conclusions, grammatical issues, word choice, among other issues. She pointed out that explicit guidelines in these areas were helpful for the participants when they were accompanied by discussion of how they related to their specific writing. In addition, the participants were constrained in what they wrote. Lillis provided examples from the participants' texts in which they wrote about bilingualism and bilingual education. In one instance, a tutor explicitly told a participant that her negative portrayal of bilingual education was inappropriate. Being explicitly told not to write something was uncommon in the participants' experience, it was more common that the participants drew on their experiences, and their

understanding of the context to constrain what they wrote related to their cultural and linguistic identities.

Moreno (2002) also focused on issues that bilingual and bicultural students face as they engage in literacy in post-secondary contexts. She analyzed how higher education shapes possibilities for bicultural students' writing, and how bicultural students can explore their identities as they develop literacy practices that are expected in universities. Moreno's ethnographic study of a writing class whose topic was race and ethnicity focused specifically on the writing of a male, Latino student and his writing. Moreno explained that she specifically chose to focus the course on issues of race and ethnicity to give the students' opportunities to voice their perspectives in an institution in which their experiences were often marginalized. Moreno also pointed out that her students perceived tensions and complexities in using their dialects and languages and exploring their identities in the university, and she argued that "writing for many bicultural people is an important site of resistance and reconciliation" (p. 237). Moreno showed how the focal participant, Raymundo, shaped resistance in his texts, aligned himself collectively with other Latinos, and addressed issues of power in the classroom.

Summary of Literature Review

Vernez and Abrahamse (1996) report that large numbers of immigrant students enroll in colleges and universities, and Gray, Rolph, and Melamid (1996) explained that very little awareness exists in these settings of issues related to immigrant students. As Valdés (1992) pointed out, writing programs and courses at colleges and universities typically do not take into account the broad range of linguistic diversity that exists within

the ELL population. It is important to understand the ways in which immigrant ELLs fit into current configurations of programs and courses and how they fare. Learning more about these students' experiences will facilitate the development of programs that effectively and appropriately meet immigrant ELLs' unique backgrounds and experiences. Reid (1998) and Ferris and Hedgcock (1998) delineated some of the specific ways that immigrant and international students may be different from each other. For example, immigrant students are generally more proficient orally, and have more experience with U.S. culture than do international students. International students generally have more experiences with first language literacy and academic language to draw on than do immigrant students. Their findings provide more evidence that it is important to examine university policies and practices that frequently conceptualize immigrant students as similar to international students.

The second-language writing literature covered here clarifies some of the key issues that are important for understanding the writing of immigrant ELL university students. The research on the writing instruction and development of ELLs in elementary, middle, and high school provides a context for understanding the previous educational and literacy experiences of immigrant university ELLs. One of the fundamental issues that is apparent in this review is that research at all levels recognizes the importance of the first language and examines its role in developing writing abilities in a second language. Buckwalter and Lo's (2002) research with an elementary child suggested that aspects of literate development are not unique to a specific language but share common underlying cognitive structures. Research by Edelsky (1982) showed that knowledge of writing in Spanish could be applied to writing in English, and Aidman (2002) ascertained

that development of literacy in the home language enhanced literacy abilities in the majority language. In work with middle school students, Reyes (1991) explained that her participants were able to engage in writing in English before they had full control of the language. She also explained that process writing instruction may be valuable and appropriate for ELLs if the instruction is adapted for their specific backgrounds. She suggested that it is important to allow students to use their first language, and to provide opportunities to write about culturally relevant topics, and to provide explicit instruction, among other recommendations. Berman's (1994) research with high school students indicated that the participants were able to transfer essay organization skills between languages. Schleppegrell and Colombi's (1997) work with U.S. resident bilingual college students indicated that ability in one language can manifest itself in writing practices in another. The participants in that study were competent writers of academic English and were able to transfer that competency to their writing in Spanish. Tarone et al. (1993) and Boshier and Rowekamp (1998) contended that writing scores were related to students' age of arrival in the U.S. This may be related to first language literacy ability because it may be that age of arrival is an important factor as it correlates with the amount of schooling students received in their first language in their home country. Dong (1999) provided documentation of college students' previous experiences with literacy, including learning to write in their first language from a young age, and they reported that they felt that those experiences benefited them in college. Furthermore, Friedlander (1990) and Lay (1988) showed that Chinese-speaking college students used knowledge from their L1 when writing in their L2, and Lay (1988) further showed that the students in her study developed their ideas in the L1.

Another key issue that is apparent in this review of literature is that it is important for ELLs at all levels to engage in meaningful and purposeful writing in order to demonstrate and develop their second language writing capabilities in English. At the elementary level, Samway (1993) demonstrated that ELL children thrived in a context in which writing was valued as a communication tool. In a middle school, Peyton, Staton, Richardson, and Wolfram (1990) provided evidence that ELL students were more likely to explore topics they chose on their own, than ones that were provided for them. At the secondary level, Lam (2000) showed how an immigrant ELL from Hong Kong sought out and engaged in meaningful writing outside of school by participating in an online community.

Although ELLs need numerous opportunities to engage in writing for a purpose that is meaningful to them, the research also indicates that they often are not provided with those opportunities. Li (2004) found that the elementary student participants in her study struggled academically because of discontinuities between the home and the school related to assumptions about literacy. In work by Valdés (2001), ELLs received writing instruction in ESL classes that did not make any connections with academic subjects, and focused on grammar, and textbook exercises. Valdés (1999) explained that teachers often assume that ELLs' writing should look like that of a native speaker of English, and so they provide remedial instruction rather than giving the students opportunities for extended writing. She maintained that ELLs need to receive explicit instruction and scaffolding of the writing process as well as opportunities to engage in writing that is purposeful and meaningful to them. Harklau (1994b) and Godina's (1998) high school

research revealed that the way ELL high school students were addressed was to place them in lower-track classes, where they did not receive ESL instruction.

Lam's (2000) study is an example of research that examines the interplay of identity and writing development. McKay and Wong (1996) and Hunter (1997) carried out research with middle school ELLs that brought notions of literacy outside of the individual and complexified notions of agency and investment. McKay and Wong's findings revealed that the context often situated students in ways that were negative for them, but the students were able to exercise agency within the context. Sometimes it was more important for the students to exercise agency and express their personal goals than it was for them to develop investment in the academic goals of the educational context.

The research also indicates that contextual factors play an important role in determining the writing instruction, development, and experiences of ELLs at all levels. For example, at the elementary level, Samway (1993) emphasized the important role the teacher's enthusiasm likely played in facilitating the study participants' abilities in discussing their writing in sophisticated ways. McCarthey, García, López-Velásquez, Lin, and Guo (2004) explained that a complicated school schedule made writing instruction disjointed for ELLs but that the students were resilient and able to negotiate the context. The context was positive because it provided a native language classroom for children; however, the compartmentalization of languages prevented children from having opportunities to draw on their first language in different contexts. The students sometimes did not receive instruction that addressed their bilingual and bicultural backgrounds, and they often found ways to resist instruction and exercise agency. Harklau's (2001) research showed that the literacy expectations and demands in a high

school setting can be markedly different from those in a college setting. She found that the literacy expectations in the college setting were not always more demanding for students than those in high school. At the college level, Stegemoller's (2004) study was the only one that touched on the issue of explicit and implicit language policies and their impact on instructional practices and immigrant ELLs. Lillis's (2001) research showed how writing conventions that are dominant in universities can constrain bilingual students. Moreno (2002) focused specifically on a Latino student's experience, and showed the ways that the student explored identity in ways that were empowering.

The issue of providing feedback on grammar was a prevalent topic covered at the college level, but it was virtually absent from the other levels. Ferris (1995a) found that grammar feedback was useful and students generally paid attention to comments and took them serious but sometimes had difficulty understanding them (Ferris 1995b; Ferris, 1997). Providing feedback to student writing is one of the primary instructional methods that instructors utilize at the college level.

Research Problem

It is clear that first-language writing experiences and practices are important considerations when examining the writing development of immigrant university ELLs. First-language literacy is a particularly important issue to explore with immigrant college students because they are not a monolithic group in terms of their experiences with their first languages. The nature and length of first language literacy instruction that immigrant students receive before college needs to be explored. It is important to understand what

first-language and biliterate resources immigrant university ELLs possess that they can draw upon.

It is important to add to knowledge about the multitude of ways that immigrant ELLs engage with writing and find meaning in and through writing at the college level. The college-level research on immigrant ELLs' writing has placed little attention on explicitly investigating the issue of affordances and constraints on developing academic writing. As Lam (2000) pointed out, students may engage in non-academic activities that enhance their identities as writers. It is important to uncover ways that immigrant ELL college students may explore writing in academic and non-academic ways in order to better understand how to support them in developing as writers in academic contexts.

Also, it is important that research on immigrant ELLs at the college level begins to understand literacy development in the context of broader discourses, ideologies, and identities that interact in a variety of ways. This review has shown that issues of identity and context are intertwined with discourse and ideology and that they have an impact on ELLs. It is imperative that research examines how these issues impact the writing and writing performance of immigrant students at the college level as well. Finally, it is important to develop knowledge about how immigrant ELLs at universities respond to the types of writing instruction that are prevalent in those contexts. The previous work that has included immigrant ELL university students has been experimental work that has looked at the effects of specific instructional practices. In future work in this area, it is important that studies examine what types of instructional approaches students naturally encounter and how they respond to them in addition to the experimental studies that examine specific approaches.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Paradigm

A major objective of this research is to generate findings that will contribute to the development of theoretical understandings about second-language literacy development. Also, I hope that this research will generate findings that can be applied in educational contexts to improve the education of immigrant students. I base my goals for this research on the notion that three different types of knowledge exist: epistemic, which is akin to scientific rationality; technic, which is an instrumental type of knowledge; and phronetic, which is value-rational knowledge, similar to wise judgment (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Flyvbjerg explained that phronetic research addresses issues of values and ethics by grappling with questions like “Where are we going?” “Is it desirable?” “What should be done?” Issues of values and ethics are addressed in terms of the specific sociohistoric context being studied. Flyvbjerg pointed out that, for a variety of historical reasons, educational researchers approach inquiry into social phenomena almost solely to develop epistemic or technic knowledge. I believe it is important to engage in research that develops phronetic knowledge because I believe this type of research can assist in promoting social justice issues.

I approached this investigation of bilingual students’ experiences with literacy using an interpretivist/constructivist paradigm and a combination of narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) and grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). According to Mertens (1998) the epistemology of the constructivist paradigm posits that a multitude

of realities exist that are constructed socially. She explains that this paradigm stems from a view of scientific inquiry that sees knowledge as developed through interaction between individuals in social contexts. The views and experiences of participants are discovered utilizing methods of qualitative inquiry that address the unique characteristics of participants and contexts. The constructivist paradigm informs my approach because I believe that students' experiences with language, literacy, immigration, education are interconnected and experienced in unique ways that are influenced by sociohistoric contexts.

In my research I focus on what Ivanic refers to as the “autobiographical self,” which she describes as “the idea that it is not only the events in people’s lives, but also their way of representing these experiences to themselves which constitutes their current way of being” (Ivanic, 1998, p. 24). I draw on narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) as an approach to explore my participants’ autobiographical selves and how they relate to their writing and experiences with writing at the university. In Casanave’s (2005) discussion of narrative in writing research she explains that narrative is seen as one of the fundamental tools used to create meaning out of lived experiences. I base my research on assumptions similar to Bell (2002), who also applies narrative inquiry to her work in second-language writing, who explained that narrative inquiry is based on “the epistemological assumption that we as human beings make sense of random experience by the imposition of story structures” (p. 207).

In my study, I also utilized concepts and processes of grounded theory to aid in my exploration and analysis of the ways that immigrant and international students construct and understand themselves in relation to language and literacy in the university

context. Research in this area is an endeavor that requires the ability to grapple with issues of culture and multiple constructions of reality because the research participants come from a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Qualitative inquiry and grounded theory methods borrowed from ethnography and ethnography of communication were uniquely capable of assisting me as I undertook the task of understanding the perspectives and experiences of linguistically diverse students in a post-secondary context.

This type of inquiry allowed me to address the social and political aspects of my research into the language and literacy experiences and practices of bilingual, immigrant university students. It pushed me to continuously develop awareness of the epistemology that formed the foundation of my inquiry and to grapple with moral, ethical, and political issues as well as questions about what constitutes valuable knowledge about social life. These features of qualitative inquiry, combined with the fact that it focused on meaning and discovering the unique aspects of contexts and individuals, made qualitative inquiry, specifically perspectives and techniques from narrative inquiry and grounded theory, uniquely suited to my project.

Research Questions

The current study is aimed at developing a better understanding of bilingual immigrant students' experiences with language and writing in their first years at a university. Gathering data about participants' literacy histories, current experiences with writing, and writing artifacts, my purpose was to explore how bilingual, immigrant

university students from a variety of backgrounds made sense of themselves as writers in the university.

The research questions that guided this study were:

1. What are the literacy histories of a group of Spanish-background, bilingual, immigrant undergraduates in their first years at a U.S. university?
2. What issues relate to their writing and writing experiences at the university?
3. How do these students understand themselves as writers? What kinds of texts do they produce?

Pilot Study

I conducted a pilot study for this project that examined the college writing experiences of an immigrant and international student (Stegemoller, 2004). The study took place in a community college classroom and I investigated what type of writing was valued in that setting and how the students experienced the process of acquiring advanced literacy skills. The participants in the study were one female Korean international student and one male Korean immigrant student, both of whom spoke Korean as their first language. Data consisted of two observations of the students' ESL writing class, interviews with the students and the instructor, and samples of the writing the students produced for the class.

The data were analyzed through a process of constant comparison by reading the data and coding with themes, such as first language literacy practices, problems with grammar, problems with vocabulary, and so forth. One of the main issues at the college was that it provided two composition courses at the same level that were supposed to be identical, except that one was for ELLs and the other was for native speakers of English.

The purpose of that configuration was to provide a forum where ELLs could receive the extra instruction they needed.

The findings showed that the instructor believed that the ESL writing program at the college recognized that some ELLs may produce non-native sentence level features in their writing but that it was not necessary to expect ELLs to produce writing that looked exactly the same as native speakers of English. She explained that if ELLs produced writing that exhibited well-developed and organized content, they would likely be placed in the course for native speakers of English. The immigrant student in this study produced writing that looked similar to a native speaker of English in terms of content and development, but it differed in terms of sentence level features that were non-native. This student was placed in a class with native English speakers, but the instructor suggested that he move to the ESL section because of the sentence-level errors in his writing. In the case of the immigrant student in this study, the grammatical form of his writing was actually a more important consideration for the teachers at the college than the content or organization.

Other findings indicated that some differences existed between the two students such as experiences with their L1 and culture shock. Some of these differences were theorized by using Bourdieu's concept of "linguistic habitus," linguistic practices acquired during childhood from the social context. These practices predispose individuals to perceive and use language in specific ways that are associated with the context in which they were acquired, and they imbue individuals with capital depending on the context. Although these practices are ingrained in individuals from childhood, they are malleable, and individuals can adapt them to new situations (Bourdieu, 1991). The

differing linguistic habitus that the participants developed due to their differing experiences with language and literacy was used to explain the immigrant students' ability to put himself in the mindset of an American reader/writer, and the international students' sense of culture shock and homesickness. The study concluded by suggesting that teachers acknowledge students' feelings about literacy acquisition and how they relate to their personal histories and institutional contexts.

After doing the pilot study, it was clear that I would likely find variation in the experiences of students from the same language backgrounds. It also showed that students' current and previous experiences with language and literacy are important areas to explore because they related to their experiences with writing and writing development. In the pilot study, the purpose was to explore similarities and differences between an immigrant and an international student from similar linguistic backgrounds. I utilized a focused methodology in which I included students from the same classroom, and I included writing that both students completed on the same topic. I realized that it would be important to conduct a more open-ended methodology that includes students from different majors, and that includes in-progress writing, not only final drafts. Furthermore, rather than explicitly comparing an immigrant student and an international student, I focused specifically on immigrant students and how their histories related to their university language and literacy experiences. Also, since the L1 of the participants in the pilot study was Korean, I was not able to include any writing from the L1, and they did not use their L1 orally either. I decided that in subsequent research I wanted to include students who spoke Spanish so that I would be able to understand any code-switching the participants engaged in, or writing they produced in Spanish.

Context

University

This study took place at a large research university during the spring of 2006. Table 1 shows the undergraduate enrollment at the university by racial/ethnic category in 2005 as well as the percentage of the ethnic/racial population in the state. The total undergraduate enrollment of students at the university who provided information about their race/ethnicity was 30,290 (from Conference “Documenting the Difference Diversity Makes,” 2006). The percentages for the state do not add up to 100% because the U.S. Census treats Hispanic origin and race as separate categories. This means that respondents who indicated that they were of Hispanic origin also chose one of the racial categories. The table indicates that the racial/ethnic distribution of the undergraduate student body did not reflect the population of the state. The participants in this study are Mexican and Puerto Rican, so the Hispanic category is of particular interest. Hispanics made up 14.7% of the state population, but only 6.5% of the university’s undergraduate student population (U.S. Census, 2005).

Table 1

Undergraduate Enrollment by Racial/Ethnic Category at the University and Percentage of State Population by Racial/Ethnic Category

Hispanic		Black		API ^a		AIAN ^b		White	
Univ	State	Univ	State	Univ	State	Univ	State	Univ	State
6.5%	14.7%	6.7%	14.8%	12.6%	4.2%	.5%	.2%	68.9%	70.7%

^aAsian/Pacific Islander. ^bAmerican Indiana/Alaska Native.

Table 2 shows the number of foreign-born undergraduate students at the university and in the state in 2005. The university’s budget and planning office

(pseudonym) indicated that in 2005, 1,440 (approximately 4.6%) of the undergraduates were nonresident aliens. Furthermore, the office of international student affairs (pseudonym) reported that 1,451 international undergraduates were enrolled at the university in fall 2005, 1,241 of whom were degree-seeking undergraduates. The university did not provide statistics regarding the number of permanent resident immigrant students,. The U.S. Census reported that 13.8% of the state population was foreign-born in 2005, of which 6.1% were U.S. citizens, and 7.7% were non-U.S. citizens.

Table 2

Percentage of University Undergraduates and State Populations That Is Foreign-Born in 2005

Foreign-born			
University		State	
Percent	Population	Percent	Population
4.7	1,451 international students	13.8	Total
		6.1	US Citizens 782,749
		7.7	Non US Citizens 988,061

Student Support Programs

Half of the participants in this research entered the university through programs designed to increase access to college for students from diverse backgrounds who are often underrepresented, or who start but do not complete university degrees. One was Transitions (pseudonym), which is designed to provide opportunities for students who do not meet the standard admissions requirements of the university, but who show potential to succeed at the university through an alternative admissions process. It is an academic support program that assists 50 students for 2 years as they transition to the university context. The students in the program do not meet the traditional minimum requirements

of the university and they go through another application process for the Transitions program. The students are admitted into and required to complete a six-week intensive summer program consisting of courses in composition, math, study skills, as well as content courses in, for example, history and geology. Students are admitted into the university on a probationary basis for four semesters, after which they are admitted into the university curriculum they choose.

According to a report compiled by the university Office of Equal Opportunity and Access, the year the study participants entered the program, 2005, the students who participated in the Transitions program were 75% African American, 23.1% Latina/o, and 1.9% Asian or Pacific Islander. Throughout the 7-year period discussed in the report, African-American students generally comprised roughly two-thirds of the participants, from 62% to 83.7% and Latina/o students generally comprised roughly one-third of participants, from 14% to 35.6%. Asian or Pacific Islander students comprised from 0% to 6.7% of participants, and White, Non-Hispanic students comprised 0% to 4% of students who participated in the program. I worked for the Transitions program as a tutor during one summer, and at that time I observed that the Transitions provided a Spanish-English bilingual program for everyone who attended the orientation held in the spring semester before the intensive summer program.

The other program, Collective (pseudonym), is a competitive scholarship program that promotes access to college for urban youth from diverse backgrounds. In order to apply for the scholarship, students are nominated and then go through an extensive, multipart interview process. When students are admitted into the program, they receive extensive training in and opportunities for community building. In addition, they receive

a mentor for their first 2 years of college, with whom they meet in groups and individually. The general goals of this program are to: increase access to college for students from a variety of diverse backgrounds, support students in successfully completing college degree programs and graduating, and help create more welcoming institutions for people from all backgrounds.

Standard Admissions

The other half of the participants were admitted through the standard admissions procedures, and completed their first-year composition requirement by taking a rhetoric course in the English department, or courses designed for ELLs in the English as a Second Language department (pseudonym).

Language Policy Context

In the state in which the university is located, the official language is English (1969 Public Act 76-1464). It is permitted to teach children in a language besides English if the students are classified as limited English proficient (1988 Public Act 85-1389). Bilingual education programs are mandated by federal and state laws “whenever there are 20 or more LEP students with a common native language enrolled in one school.” The primary type of bilingual program in the state is transitional bilingual education (TBE). This type of program is “transitional,” meaning that children’s home languages are used in the school until the children are able to enter a “regular” English classroom. These programs generally do not focus on enriching students’ language and literacy practices in their first languages in addition to English, rather the focus is on using the first language as necessary until the children master enough English to use primarily English in school. The focus is on developing English language skills.

The university that the participants attended has a language policy that is in line with the state. The university policy states that one of the requirements for all undergraduate degrees is satisfactory English language proficiency (University Student Code, Academic Policies and Regulations, English requirement for graduation). In addition, the university has a “non-primary language” degree requirement, which states that students must complete either 2 years of college courses in a non-primary language, or 4 years of high school courses in a non-primary language.

Participants

Students

In this study, I focused on six Spanish language background, immigrant students who had graduated from high school in the U.S. I was interested in including students who shared some common characteristics but who also had somewhat unique backgrounds. Recruiting students in this way allowed me to understand some of the commonalities of the participants as well as how specific aspects of their backgrounds make their experiences unique. I considered four characteristics as I recruited participants for this study. (a) Courses: I included participants who were enrolled in at least one writing course or one writing-intensive course. Enrollment in a writing course was important so that I could analyze the writing that participants produced for their university courses. (b) Spanish language background. (c) Year in college: I recruited students who were in the first part of their time at the university, first or second year. Recruiting students at the beginning of their time at the university was important because it enabled me to better understand how the students’ previous experiences may have

impacted their current experiences at the university. Had the students been at more advanced stages, it would have been more difficult to explore their previous experiences with language and literacy as they related to their current experiences at the university.

(d) Educational background: I included participants who arrived at an earlier age, and were considered ELLs in school throughout all or part of elementary school, and then were exited into all-English classrooms with no native language or ESL support. I also included participants who arrived at a later age and were considered ELLs in school at some point at age 10 or older, that is, during the last year of elementary or in middle or high school. I based my rationale for this age partly on research by Thomas and Collier (1997) and partly on my own teaching experience. Thomas and Collier's findings indicate that advantaged immigrant children who arrived in the U.S. between 8-11 years old with schooling in their home countries were able to reach grade level norms after 5-7 years of schooling. However, students who arrived between 12-15 years old did not attain scores at grade level after 4 years of schooling. Additionally, in my own experience as an ESL composition teacher in post-secondary settings, I have had immigrant ELLs in my classes who have been living in the U.S. for as many as 10 years.

Students were recruited to participate by asking for recommendations from administrators at the Multicultural Student Affairs Office (pseudonym), and the Latino/a Cultural Center (pseudonym). In addition, I sent emails to organizations such as the Mexican Student Association, and visited meetings of student organizations to explain my study, and I hung signs in campus buildings announcing my study. I received emails from 65 students expressing interest in participating, and I met with 30 students in person to discuss the study and their background in more detail. Seven students met my criteria,

and I invited them to participate; six agreed to participate. The student participants received a \$100 stipend for participating in this research.

This study included six first- or second-year university students who were born outside the continental U.S., graduated from high school within U.S. territory, spoke Spanish as their first language, and participated in a bilingual education or ESL program at least at age 9 or 10, and who were enrolled in a university writing course or course that required writing. Three of the students attended at least 5 years of school in their first language, Spanish, and three immigrated to the U.S. before school age and completed all of their schooling in the U.S. Three of the participants graduated from lower income, lower performing high schools in urban contexts, two graduated from higher income, higher performing high schools in suburban settings, and one of the participants was a junior transfer student, who was in her first year at the university where the study took place.

I refer to the participants as “early” and “later” arrivers in order to organize the complex data about the participants, and also to understand and theorize the data. Some other aspects of the participants’ experiences coincide with their age of arrival, for example, their high school contexts, but it is important not to draw links between these components because they may be coincidental. The important thing is to keep in mind that all components of the participants’ identities and experiences create a constellation of factors that inform their language and literacy practices. The early/late arriver categories are used as tools to aid in organizing and understanding the data. Table 3 provides information about the participants and their backgrounds.

Table 3

Study Participants

Demographic	Early arrivers			Later arrivers		
	Diego	Jenny	Maria	Cristina	Diana	Nicolas
Birth place	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Mexico
First language	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Dominant language	Both	English	Spanish	English	Spanish	Spanish
Age of arrival in continental US	2	3	4	10	20	14
Schooling in place of birth	No	No	No	K-4 th	Through 1 st 2 years of college	K-8 th
Schooling in continental U.S.	K-12	K-12	K-12	5 th -12 th	Transferred in junior year	8 th -12 th
ESL courses	K-4 th	K-6 th	K-3 rd	5 th grade	EFL courses & textbooks in English	8 th -9 th
Place of HS income, low	urban; lower income, lower performing	urban; lower income, lower performing	urban; lower income, lower performing	suburb; higher income, higher performing	PR, town; low income, average performing	suburb; higher income, higher performing
Year at university	Freshman	Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Junior (transferred, 1 st year at univ)	Freshman
Writing course	LLS	Comp 102 CH 105	LIS, Span Engl	Comp 103 AA 150	ESL 101 Span 500	Comp 102

Note. LLS = Latina/o Studies, Comp = Composition, CH = Community Health, LIS = Library and Information Science, AA = African American Studies, ESL = English as a Second Language, Span = Spanish.

Researcher

I have a master's degree in teaching ESL, have taught college ESL, and have worked at the university writing center at the time of the study. I studied Spanish in Mexico, and have intermediate oral and advanced reading abilities in Spanish.

After I received my master's degree, I was eager to apply what I learned about the research base in SLA, and applied linguistics, and I began teaching full time at a university intensive English program. The courses I taught and the students in my classes were both extremely diverse. One of the undergraduate courses I taught was made up of students from 11 different countries, both permanent residents and students planning to return home after their studies. They had been living in the U.S. for anywhere from 4 months to 10 years. Some of them were bilingual in English and their native languages, whereas others were still clearly in the process of acquiring English. Some of them had definite goals to pursue academic programs, while others were unsure, and still others were in the U.S. only to improve their English. Through my educational and teaching experiences I became aware of the diversity of ELLs in universities and I also realized that this type of diversity is often not recognized and addressed.

Reflecting on these experiences has helped me to develop awareness of how I have participated in the same grand narratives that my participants' stories point to. It has not been a part of educational narratives that immigrant students are part of university classrooms and that it is natural and encouraged for bilingual students to draw on their languages in universities. I also ignored the presence of immigrants in higher education for quite some time, which is part of what drew me to focusing my research on issues related to bilingual, immigrant students in university settings. This type of reflection is an

important part of my analytic process because it is part of understanding my reflexive stance as a researcher and how I participate in the narratives that I am exploring with my participants.

Data Collection

The data collection phase of this study took place during the spring 2006 semester, and consisted of questionnaires, literacy history interview-conversations, text-based interviews, and student writing.

Questionnaires

The participants were asked to answer a questionnaire (Appendix G) that included questions in two general areas: (a) educational background (e.g., Where did you go to school? How long?), and (b) language and literacy background (e.g., With whom/how often do you speak/write in English/Spanish?). I asked the students to fill out the questionnaire and return it to me at a later date.

Literacy History Interview-Conversations

I used Lillis's methodological tool of "literacy history" interviews (Lillis, 2001). I also drew on Mishler (1986) and Riessman's (1993, 2003) concepts of interview as narrative, and Holstein and Gubrium's (1995) concept of "active interview." Because of this way of conceptualizing the interviews, their nature was somewhere in between an interview and a conversation, which is why I refer to them as "interview-conversations."

I conducted three 90-minute in-depth phenomenological interviews (Seidman, 1991) with each of the six students on their experiences with language, literacy, and writing. Each of the interviews was conducted on the university campus. The interviews

were conducted between January and March, 2006. Phenomenological interviews are aimed at developing an understanding of participants' experiences and the meanings their experiences have for them. The use of three interviews allowed participants to fully explore their experiences related to the topic. The first interview was about their previous experiences, the second was about their current experiences, and the third was a reflective interview in which I asked them to think about the meaning of their experiences with language and literacy in light of the first two interviews (see Appendix H).

The interviews were conducted in English. Occasionally some of the participants code-switched between English and Spanish. All of the interviews were audiotaped and transcribed.

Text-Based Conversations

With each of the participants, I conducted two, 60-minute text-based conversations (Ivanic & Weldon, 1999; Prior, 1998) that were similar to tutorials because I also helped them with issues that they were struggling with. I call them conversations, rather than interviews, because I did not have any prepared questions. My goal was to discover what the participants were thinking about their writing, and what issues they wanted to discuss related to it. I guided the conversations by asking questions about the writing assignment, and giving brainstorming strategies and suggestions; these aspects made the conversations similar to "tutorials," or "one-on-one teaching." I asked the participants to choose any piece of writing they were currently working on to discuss with me. I discussed a range of papers with the participants, four of whom were enrolled in a writing course. Jenny and Nicolas were enrolled in the Comp 101/102 sequence. Students who score at 19 or below on the verbal section of the ACT place into the Comp

101/102 sequence. Cristina was enrolled in Comp 103, which is the most advanced undergraduate writing course; students with an ACT score above 21 are placed in this course. Diana was enrolled in ESL 101, which is part of the ESL 101/102/3 sequence, completion of which fulfills the university undergraduate composition requirement.

In addition, three of the participants discussed writing they were doing for their majors: Jenny—Community Health, Maria—English, Diana—Spanish. Cristina discussed a paper she was writing for an African American studies course she was taking to fulfill a general education requirement, and Maria also discussed courses she was taking in Library and Information Science, and Latina/o Studies. Diego discussed personal statements he was writing for a scholarship and for a prestigious summer program. Table 4 shows the writing that each of the participants discussed with me during the two text-based interviews.

Table 4

Writing Discussed During Text-Based Interviews

Participants	Text-based interview #1: Writing discussed	Text-based interview #2: Writing discussed
Diego	Scholarship essay	Essay for summer program at Harvard
Jenny	Community Health 105, “Health Problem in the Community”	Comp 102, “Community Health”
Maria	LIS 300: Race, Gender & Information Technology, “Latinas and the Internet”	Span 200: The Chicano Experience, “Autobiography assignment,” the paper from LIS 390, & ENGL 256: Survey of American Literature, feedback on midterm
Cristina	Comp 103, “A Meticulous Analysis of Photographs from the War in Iraq”	AA 150: Introduction to African American Studies, “African American Studies”

(table continues)

Table 4 (*continued*)

Participants	Text-based interview #1: Writing discussed	Text-based interview #2: Writing discussed
Diana	ESL 102, compare/contrast paper, “Public School and Home School,” Span 553: Spanish Sociolinguistics, “Variación Social en el Uso de las Líquidas en el Español de Puerto Rico	Span 500: Spanish Sociolinguistics, “Variación Social en el Uso de las Líquidas en el Español de Puerto Rico”
Nicolas	Comp 102, Rhetorical analysis paper, “The Effects of One Language”	Comp 102, Researched argument paper, “Immigrants: The Leverage on the United States Economy”

All of the literacy history interviews, and text-based interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. I transcribed one of the interviews with each of the participants, and the rest of the interviews were transcribed by a paid professional transcriber with a background in Spanish. In total, there were 30 interviews totaling approximately 40 hours, and around 800 pages of transcripts.

Student Writing

In addition to the text-based interviews, I also asked the participants to give me other writing that they were working on throughout the semester. I collected any writing that the participants wanted to give me. The collection consists of essays written for courses in academic fields, composition courses, research papers, writing done “Crossing Contexts,” high school English papers, creative writing, a PowerPoint, a scholarship essay, and an in-class exam. I received a total of 55 essays, totaling around 200 pages.

Table 5

Writing Collected

Type of writing	Number
Diego	
Scholarship essay	1
Statement of purpose	1
LLS course essay	1
LLS course midterm	1
Letter written in Spanish for a student organization	1
Total	5
Cristina	
High school English course	3
Composition 103 essays	2
African-American studies	2
Total	7
Jenny	
Crossing Contexts essays	3
Composition 101 essay	1
Composition 102 essay	3
Community Health essays	2
Total	9
Diana	
High school English course papers in Spanish from PR	3
University Spanish literature course papers from PR	8
University Spanish course papers from cont US	5

(table continues)

Table 5 (*continued*)

Type of writing	Number
<i>Diana (continued)</i>	
Spanish sociolinguistics critical essay	1
ESL 102 essays	5
Total	22
<i>Maria</i>	
LIS course paper	1
LIS project/PowerPoint	1
Span 200 course paper	1
English midterm	1
Poetry	1
Total	5
<i>Nicolas</i>	
Composition 102 course essays	7
Total	7

In addition to the writing samples listed in Table 5, I received syllabi, and handouts from some of the participants' coursework.

Data Analysis

My methodology draws on narrative inquiry and grounded theory. First, I will explain the primary methodological heuristics I used to develop understandings of the data. I focused on tensions between concentrating my attention inward on my perceptions of the data and outward on how my insights related to conversations in the field. I focused on tensions between details of participants' writing and what they talked about,

and the big picture of their stories and on tensions between individual participant's stories and collective stories that are common to all of the participants.

Overarching Analytic Processes

I engaged in narrative inquiry to explore some of the ways immigrant students construct and understand themselves as bilingual university students and the way their understandings are part of storied lives. This endeavor is not about uncovering facts about objective reality; it is about striving to experience the storied landscape with my participants to show how they (and I) are evolving in the specific sociohistorical context of the university. In this section, I will explain the overarching analytic processes I engaged in throughout the research process. The concepts and tools I introduce apply to all of the data collected for this research, namely: story/narrative, grand narrative, three-dimensional space, inward/outward, forward/backward.

In carrying out this research, I drew heavily on Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) conceptualization of narrative inquiry. The primary focus of analysis in this study is on the stories participants told me. I will explain more in the next subsection about how I defined and delineated stories in this research. I am fascinated by the relationship between individual stories, and the interconnections of individual stories and their connections with "grand narratives" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), which can be thought of as broader social processes such as issues of class, education, and racialization. In discussing their use of the term "grand narrative," Clandinin and Connelly use the example of educational research, pointing out that a grand narrative in educational research views research as an instrumental tool that uses approaches based in post-positivism. It is difficult to definitively define a term like "grand narrative." It can be

thought of as stories that bring to life societal categories that are often used to describe individuals, for example, race and socioeconomic status. I use the term to refer to similar processes when I talk about “broader social processes.” For example, research indicates that first-language attrition is common among many second-generation immigrants, and I use the term “grand narrative” to refer to the storied aspect of that process, and the ways that individuals and institutions tell those stories.

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) wrote that narrative inquirers carry out projects within a “three-dimensional narrative inquiry space,” consisting of temporal, interactional, and contextual dimensions. They have further conceptualized directionality to the interactional and temporal components: inward, outward, backward, and forward. I utilized these conceptual tools in my data analysis by observing relations between inward focus on my experiences and perceptions of the data and outward focus on how my insights relate to broader conversations and stories. I focused on tensions between details of what the participants’ talked about, and their writing, and the big picture of their stories. I focused on tensions between individual participant’s stories and collective stories that are common to all of the participants. I also looked backward to explore how their current practices and experiences are part of storied lives, and forward to explore how their current acts of agency within the university context can impact their future. I will explain below with some examples how I utilized conceptual tools to analyze my data.

Comparing my participants’ experiences with Spanish (outward focus) and my experiences with German (inward focus) reminds me that these experiences are part of “grand narratives.” In my case, my grandparents spoke German, and I wanted to be able

to understand that language and speak it with them. As an adult, I have learned through conversations with my mother that my grandparents felt a sense of shame about speaking German. My participants are in the thick of experiences being in two worlds with language. My experience with that is separated by a generation and by memory. Some narratives have such a long history to them that it makes them hard to see. As an analogy, if one is standing in a triangle that has a perimeter of 3 feet, it is easy to see the surrounding boundaries; if one stands within a large triangle, perhaps of 3 miles, it is impossible to look around and see the boundaries of the triangle. Just because one can't see the boundaries, does not mean they are not there. Part of what I did in this research is to focus on stories so that I can see their boundaries, some of which are close by and others further away. The boundaries that are further away leave more room for other stories to become involved, but the outer boundaries still have an impact. For me, the boundaries of the stories that grow out of grand narratives of "English monolingualism" are bigger because I am separated from them by time and memory. For my participants, their stories are bounded more closely because they are part of their current lived experiences. The stories show that the impact of hegemonic processes are powerful and pervasive.

This grand narrative of English monolingualism is powerful, and it seems difficult, if not impossible to impact it. It is not entirely impossible, though, because individual stories that we create from our unique experiences impact the trajectory of that narrative. In many ways it seems that language loss is inevitable. The centrifugal forces that act to centralize diverse languages into English are very powerful. However, there are constantly centripetal forces at play as well that act to decentralize and diversify. In

the case of my family, my grandmother learned shame about language, so she took on ways of talking that were more closely related to “mainstream” speech. As I learned about language, language loss, ideology, and as I made connections to myself and to my family, I developed pride in the language history of my family and wanted to learn about it and enrich my language and life with it. This is where possibilities for future plotlines of this narrative begin to form. Many of my participants’ stories also tell about healing from negative attitudes about language, and reclaiming language, thereby exercising agency to impact future plotlines of these narratives.

The purpose of comparing my language experiences to those of my participants is to illustrate the analytic processes in which I engaged. I see the research as made up of stories that occupy a three-dimensional space of temporal, situational, and interactional components. I focused attention on the temporal and situational aspects of the stories, and the inward/outward, backward/forward dimensions of those components. In doing so, I made connections between individual stories, across stories, and with grand narratives.

Another tool that I used throughout the literacy history, and text-based interview-conversations was “on the line interpretation” (Kvale, 1996, p. 189), in which I occasionally shared with participants my understanding and interpretation of what they were saying and listened to their response to understand how accurately they felt I understood and interpreted their narrative. For example, in Diego’s second text-based conversation, he said that he was “stranded in an academic labyrinth,” in school, and I said, “It sounds like this has impacted your long-term goals in some way,” and Diego responded, “Yes.” In another example from the same conversation, I said, “growing up in

your family made you think about things in this way and affected your goals, it sounds like your heritage is an important aspect,” and Diego answered, “yeah, definitely.”

Narrative Analysis

The specific narrative analytic concepts and tools I discuss in this section were primarily used to analyze the literacy history interviews. I used an analytic process whereby I conceptualized the constructed interview data (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) as made up of many narratives the participants recounted. Chase (2005) pointed out that narratives can be thought of both as “an extended story about a significant aspect of one’s life” and “a short topical story about a particular event and specific characters.” Researchers such as Polkinghorne (1995), Mishler (1986), and Reissman (2003) conceptualized interview data as made up of stories that individuals recount. Reissman (2003) pointed out several ways of conceptualizing narratives, and I draw on two of them. In one, narratives are encompassed by large sections of interviews and represent accounts of informants’ lives that unfold over the course of one or many interviews. Another way of thinking about narratives is to think of them as discrete stories told in response to questions. In my analysis, I looked for discrete stories, and I conceptualized all of the stories as interconnected and representing extended stories. My analysis of the literacy history interviews consisted of reading the transcripts and making decisions about where the stories were, and how they were bounded.

My analysis was driven by the theoretical framework of this study, and my focus was on the participants’ understandings of themselves as bilingual within the context of a monolingual university. My analysis centered primarily on stories that represented how grand narratives impacted participants and how they exercised agency in those stories. I

also used a concept I call “resonance,” which is a tool I used to focus inward when stories resonated emotionally with me, and I used that as a starting point as I developed a richer understanding of participants’ literacy histories. For example, when thinking about one of Diego’s interviews I remembered my sense that he felt shame about an aspect of his experience. Therefore, my conversations with him focused on stories about irrelevance of instruction and self-blame. It also led me to wonder about whether bilingual students in the U.S. feel a sense of shame about their use of language.

In addition, I determined how stories were bounded by looking at when topics changed, and also by looking at cues within the interactional structure between the participants and me. In an interview with Jenny, she related stories about one of her cousins that went on for four pages of the interview transcript. The story had somewhat clear boundaries in that Jenny spoke consistently and I only said “ok,” “uh-huh” occasionally for her to continue with the story. As she closed the story, her intonation went down and she repeated a phrase: “we have differences, but we get along. We get along.”

In an interview with Maria, she told me stories about her mother teaching her to read in Spanish. It was similar to Jenny’s example in that it went on for five pages. I added more phrases that provided encouragement to keep talking, for example, “It seems like your mom was really conscious about trying to encourage you guys to maintain Spanish.” At the end of the story I said, “yea, it’s so different,” and Maria signaled the closing of the story by repeating what I said rather than continuing with more examples.

I used brief summaries as heuristics to manage the data, and I used them as I moved to more abstract levels of analysis and theorizing. Table 6 shows the codes related

to immigration and the stories I delineated for that code. I coded the stories into two main categories, “early arrivals to a subtractive bilingual context” and “later arrivals from an additive bilingual context.” I developed codes that referred to the participants’ age of arrival as well as educational contexts because both of them were aspects of the participants’ experiences that likely related to their language and literacy practices.

Table 6

Coding Examples: Immigration Stories

Participants	Codes for stories
Early arrivals to a subtractive bilingual context	
Diego	Work, family unity, maintaining Spanish in U.S.
Maria	Work, family unity, maintaining Spanish in U.S.
Jenny	Education, forgetting Spanish in the U.S.
Later arrivals from an additive bilingual context	
Cristina	With family for education, developing balanced bilingualism
Nicolas	Alone for education, characteristics of Generation 1.5
Diana	With husband for education, characteristics of an international student

Table 7 provides information about how I coded the participants’ stories about their experiences before coming to the university into two main categories, “exploring confidence” and “exploring greater confidence.” Within each of those categories there are subcategories. The subcategories for “lower confidence” are: elementary school: subtracting Spanish, adding English; middle school: importance of recognizing Spanish; high school: little writing and irrelevant. The subcategories for “greater confidence” are: early experiences: foundation in Spanish, drawing on both languages; sociopolitical issues; high school/early university: emerging academic writing and identity.

Table 7

Coding Examples: Pre-University Stories

Participants	Codes for stories
Lower confidence	
Elementary school: Subtracting Spanish, adding English	
Diego	“Just make everyone learn English”
Jenny	“Getting used to English . . . forgetting about Spanish”
Maria	Learning to read in Spanish from her mom
Middle school: Importance of recognizing Spanish	
Diego	“Didn’t care much for it” (language arts activities in middle school)
Jenny	Teachers knew Spanish but pretended they didn’t
Maria	Positive experience with a teacher who used some Spanish
High school: Little writing and irrelevant	
Diego	“I never thought anything was ever relevant”
Jenny	Shaming experience with writing
Maria	School did not reflect her Mexican identity
Greater confidence	
Early experiences: Foundation in Spanish, drawing on both languages	
Cristina	Private school in Mexico, comparing Mexico and U.S.
Nicolas	Private school in Mexico, comparing Mexico and U.S.
Early experiences: Sociopolitical issues	
Diana	Not interested in learning English
High school/early university: Emerging academic writing and identity	
Cristina	Writing and analysis, not personal identity
Nicolas	Personal experiences, struggles, mechanics
Diana	Religious, not political, part of identity

Table 8 shows the codes related to university writing and the stories I delineated for that code. I coded the stories into four main categories, tension between personal connection and protecting the self, personal identity as resource, writing center, and additional stories.

Table 8

Coding Examples: University Writing Stories

Participants	Codes for stories
Tension between personal connection and protecting the self	
Cristina	Disconnected and slowly beginning to connect
Jenny	Grappling with sharing herself and how much
Diana	"I try to use a topic that I can be neutral."
Personal identity as resource	
Nicolas	Connecting to academic writing through the self
Diego	"Double thinking"
Maria	Dominant perspective and Chicano perspective
Writing center	
Cristina	"They just tell you 'fix it'"
Jenny	"I think I'll feel weird."
Diego	Spanish language support
Additional stories	
Diego	What's appropriate, how people respond when he talks about his community
Maria	Writing about her life (difficulty)
Jenny	Encouraged not to write about immigration
Cristina	Time and needing more guidance in African American studies
Diana	Wrote story instead of cause and effect
Nicolas	Reactions to anti-bilingual education article

Constant Comparative Analysis

I also drew on concepts from grounded theory, such as open-ended coding and constant comparison (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This type of analysis was used for the literacy history interviews, the text-based interviews, and also student writing, documents, and other artifacts. I used the short summary phrases of the stories as codes as I compared stories of individual participants and among all of the participants.

In order to analyze the text-based interviews, I used line by line coding (Charmaz, 2006), which allowed me to develop codes to describe what was happening in the text-based interviews. I developed the following codes: community consciousness, Mexican/Puerto Rican identity, immigrant identity, support networks (varied support, family support, little support, writing center), Spanish is a part of life at the university, code-switching (written, oral), language censoring, need for guidance/support.

Text-Based Conversations Analysis

I analyzed the text-based interviews and accompanying writing examples as well as other writing that students gave me using tools borrowed from grounded theory: coding and analytic memo writing. Using these tools, I developed lists of topics that were discussed in the text-based interviews, and insights I developed through the analytic process. I further developed my understanding of them through analytic memo writing and comparing them to other data. The following table lists the themes I developed based on coding and memo writing, and I provide examples from the participants of phrases that the themes represent. I borrowed the idea of presenting the text-based analysis in this way from Lillis (2001). Table 9 shows an example of themes from the text-based

interviews with Diego. Examples of themes from the conversations with the other participants are located in Appendices A-F.

Table 9

Example of Themes in Text-Based Interviews

Text based interview	<i>Diego: Protecting himself/working together</i>
#1: Essay for summer program at Harvard	1. Essay prompt, discussion of the program: "I'm assuming you look at different policies, and you just try to analyze them. You work with professors"
Paper	2. What he wants to do: "That's what I want to get across"
Notes	3. His process: "the way I write, it's very weird"
Influence of conversation	4. Wondering what is "appropriate": "I don't know if it's appropriate"
Identity (community)	5. Negotiating sharing aspects of self: "I don't necessarily think I'm gonna write that I'm (an immigrant)"
	6. Protecting the self by being self-deprecating: "some sentences are just thrown in there and not necessarily make sense. It's not even structured in a paragraph yet."
	7. Community: Made connections to his community, "money transfer agencies," "living in the shadows and in fear"
	8. Assertiveness: I said communities were a "safe space," Diego got quiet, paused, and then said, "Can I say something?" and corrected me.
#2: Scholarship essay	1. Community: Diego specifically wanted to work on a question for the essay that deal with "how you contribute to your community"; "I went to the community high school . . . I also want to include what I've done here, kind of my involvement here (at the university)"; "I have realized I no longer just have a personal commitment to my family but commitment and responsibility to my community to continue my college education"
Paper	
Rough draft	
Identity (education)	2. Uncertainty, lack of confidence: "I had said it, but then I erased it because I guess I didn't know how to word it properly," "I don't know," "Yea, I mean, that's what I think, I guess"; Jason: "You were saying that this needs to be more concise?" (transcript says: [inaudible] work in science?) Diego: "I don't know. I guess I'm asking."

(table continues)

Table 9 (*continued*)

Text based interview	<i>Diego: Protecting himself/working together</i>
#2: Scholarship essay (<i>continued</i>)	<p>□ “and so I don’t know what you think”; “Let me know what you think about that, I didn’t know where I was going”</p> <p>3. Working together, synchronicity: Asking me a lot of questions; Jason: “this part back here, I think that’ll help a lot” Diego: “I t would, right?”; “I just had an idea. . . . Okay, so let’s move it”</p> <p>5. Irrelevance, healing</p> <p>“I intend to follow this route because from my personal experience I suffered from lack of motivation. I feel a curriculum that addresses the social problems of La Villita with instructors that are product and representatives of the community can keep students engaged and eager for further understanding.”; “I guess I could talk more exactly . . . how I wanna teach high school”</p> <p>6. Support network: “I don’t know. I’m gonna ask my sister” (When we were talking about if and how to include information about financial need in his paper); “I got a professor to do that (write a letter of recommendation). She’s really great”</p>

Combined Analysis

I created portraits of each participant to show the interrelatedness of various factors and experiences and how the latter related to the participants’ development of bilingualism and biliteracy. In addition, I provided separate sections with characteristic themes for each individual. The sections highlighted groups of individuals in order to foster a deeper understanding of how shared aspects of their experiences are relevant to their writing and writing experiences.

I utilized the heuristics developed to refer to stories in the literacy history interviews, the major themes developed from the text-based interviews, and the student writing to develop analytic summaries of each participant’s data. In addition, I drew on writing the participants provided me with as well as syllabi, handouts, and notes to further enhance my understanding of their stories. Based on the stories and codes, I

developed the following themes that I will present and discuss: connecting politically, connecting safely, connecting personally, healing, taking risks, and overcoming.

Organization of Findings

In the findings I provide parts of stories the participants shared with me. I strive to present the data in storied ways because that is how the data was created. At the same time, I am negotiating a tension because I see that educators and researchers can learn from their stories about issues related to theoretical issues related to second language development, literacy development, bilingualism and their interplay with contexts and ideologies. In the findings, I represent the participants as examples of categories such as “early arriver,” “later arriver,” “immigrant,” Mexican, Puerto Rican, additive/subtractive bilingualism, low/high SES, and low/high achieving. At the same time, my eyes are open to my participants as complex individuals, not just as examples of constructed categories. I chose to use the early arriver/late arriver category as one tool to help organize the participants’ complex experiences. The category may be useful, but I view it as a tentative category to help organize and make sense of the data. It is important to keep in mind the full range of experiences presented and the complex ways they may be interconnected. In the methodology that I drew upon and in presenting the findings of this research, I attempt to address the individual stories and their connections to broader issues. The findings are divided into four main sections.

One of the primary issues is the interrelationship between life narratives and current literate experiences in the university context. In the first section of the findings, “participant backgrounds,” I introduce the participants and provide brief information

about their immigration stories language and learning experiences. The information is divided into two sections, “earlier-arriving/subtractive bilingualism” and “later-arriving/additive bilingualism.”

In the second section, “pre-university educational experiences,” I continue to use the “earlier-arriving/subtractive bilingualism” and “later-arriving/additive bilingualism distinction.” The section is divided into two parts “exploring lower confidence,” with data related to participants who arrived earlier, and “exploring greater confidence,” with data related to participants who arrived later. In the first section on lower confidence issues, the educational experiences are divided into three sections, “early experiences: subtracting Spanish, adding English,” “Middle School: Importance of Recognizing Spanish,” and “High School: Little Writing and Irrelevant.” The second section, on greater confidence issues, is divided into three parts, “Early Experiences: Foundation in Spanish, Drawing on Both Languages,” “Early Experiences: Sociopolitical Issues,” High School/Early University: Emerging Academic Writing and Identity.”

The third section, “Academic Writing at the University: Identity and Transformation” is divided into three sub-sections: “Connecting Politically and Healing,” “Connecting Safely and Taking Risks,” “Connecting Personally and Overcoming.”

The fourth section, “Shared Issues” presents six themes, “hybridity,” “grammar,” “strategies,” “support networks,” “Spanish at the university,” “censoring.”

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Introduction

The focus of this study was to understand how Spanish-English bilingual, immigrant students' literacy histories related to current experiences with literacy in general, and specifically with academic writing at a large research university in the U.S. The study also related the academic writing experiences to the bilingual identities of the participants in their first or second year at the university. I analyzed the data by exploring the participants' literacy histories, which, among other things, took into consideration the age at which they arrived in the U.S., and their high school contexts: low- or high-performing, and low- or high-income. Three of the participants, "early arrivers," Diego, Jenny, and Maria, immigrated to the U.S. before school age and completed their schooling in the U.S. Three other participants, "later arrivers," Cristina, Diana, and Nicolas, attended at least 5 years of school in their first language, Spanish, in Mexico or Puerto Rico, before immigrating to the U.S.

The early arriver participants, as a group, were less confident about language, they attended school in subtractive language contexts, and their high schools were lower-income, and lower-performing. The later arriver participants, as a group, were more confident about language, had more experience attending school in additive language contexts, and their high schools were higher-income, and higher-performing.

I present the following themes that highlight salient issues in the participants' writing and writing experiences in their first or second year at the university: hybridity:

reflections and refractions, grammar: struggling to meet expectations, support networks, Spanish at the university, and code-switching.

In the last section of the findings, I present themes that show how participants' previous experiences with immigration, language, and education related to their writing, and how the participants' exercised agency to develop as writers in ways that grew out of their unique experiences. The themes are: connecting politically and healing, connecting safely and taking risks, and connecting personally and overcoming.

Throughout the chapter I will present data from interviews and from participants' writing. In order to help differentiate between the two types of data, I present the writing data in italics.

Participant Backgrounds

This section provides a brief introduction to each of the participants' immigration stories. I present them in two sections: (a) early arrivers and (b) later arrivers, and within each section the participants are presented in alphabetical order.

Early Arrivers

Diego

Diego was born near Mexico City. In talking about his family's move to the U.S., he remembered that his father traveled back and forth and then his mother wanted the family to be together, so they decided to bring the whole family to the United States:

My dad moved—He came to the U.S.—I don't know when exactly, but he was here for a year, while my mother and my two older sisters and I stayed back at home in Mexico. So he went back, and at that time my mother was wanting to come back [to the United States] with him. He wanted to just come back again [to Mexico] . . . same thing, but my mother said no, "Let's go back." So we went back. We came out together [to the United States].

When his family immigrated, Diego was 2, and his sisters were 4 and 7. At first, they lived in California for 2 years, and then they moved to another part of the country.

Diego's parents emphasized Spanish in the home when he was growing up:

My parents always emphasized our Spanish. They made sure we weren't forgetting the Spanish . . . 'Talk in Spanish.' Yeah, my parents were very strict with . . . respect and all of that stuff. So they saw it as disrespectful, kind of just part of manners. . . . Yeah, I'm able to speak Spanish fluently because of that.

Jenny

Jenny was born in Mexico and lived there the first 2 years of her life until her parents decided to go to the United States. Jenny's story about why her parents immigrated to the U.S. centered on the children and their education. She said that her parents knew "that they're giving us a better opportunity in our education. And that was the main reason why they wanted to move here, because of our education. It would be better here than in Mexico." She indicated that her parents had careers in Mexico, and her mom did not want to go to the U.S., but her dad convinced her.

Jenny is the eldest of five children in her family. She and her younger sister were both born in Mexico. The three younger siblings were born in the U.S. She believes that she's forgotten Spanish, although she still speaks Spanish with her mom and dad. However, she says that she doesn't speak it "properly," and they understand her "nonsense Spanish."

Maria

Maria was born in Mexico. Her father was the only one of his siblings who did not go to college. She told about how he traveled between the United States and Mexico, working and earning money, and returning to his family. Her recollection was that her mother missed her father and decided to go with her husband to the U.S. and take the

whole family. They moved to the West Coast and lived there for the majority of Maria's childhood, then moved to the another part of the country where she completed high school.

In an autobiography paper that Maria wrote for one of her Latina/o Studies courses (see Appendix E), she described how she remembered her transition to the U.S. from Mexico:

Excerpt 1: Maria's Latina/o Studies autobiography paper (see Appendix E)
[The city where we lived in the U.S.] was another Mexico, except for the fact that white people lived there and were not tourists and English was spoken. In my house we still spoke Spanish and practiced our Mexican culture, just like all the people who lived around us. . . . My life when I came to the United States did not change that much; I was still a little girl. Even though I was born in Mexico, it was easy for me to adapt to this country. My closest family was near me; it was as if Mexico had made the journey along with me and my mother.

Maria remembered her mother was resolute in her determination that Maria speak Spanish and maintain ties with her Mexican culture:

When I was younger, my mother would always stress that inside our home, it was Mexico, and outside our home, it was the United States. So basically we should always speak Spanish inside our home, and then, outside it could be English.

Later Arrivers

Cristina

Cristina's parents were from Mexico. Cristina and one of her younger brothers were born in Mexico; her youngest brother was born after the family immigrated to the U.S. Cristina's parents owned rental property in Mexico, as well as a store. A family member in Mexico continues to care for the property and sends them the money that tenants pay. In the U.S., her father works as a waiter, and her mother works as a housekeeper. Cristina talked about immigrating from Mexico when she was 10 years old. She explained that "Over there the education is like not the same thing as over here, and

you don't have as many opportunities. And my parents did it pretty much for us, so that we would have a better life, better future, than we would have had over there."

The language in Cristina's home was Spanish, but over time, the language at home changed to include English as well as. She still spoke only Spanish with her parents, other family members, and her brothers, except for her youngest brother, who was born in the U.S. and was more comfortable communicating in English. Her mother used to encourage the children to use English to help them practice, but in recent years began encouraging them to use Spanish again. However, Cristina said that she feels awkward speaking Spanish with her brothers, especially since her youngest brother is more comfortable using English.

By the time Cristina was in high school, the Spanish language had evolved from her first language and the only one she used for communication, to the language that she used predominantly with her parents and other family members. She lamented the fact that she sensed that her Spanish was deteriorating and she said, "I get stuck sometimes, I don't like it. I wish that I could talk like regular."

Diana

Diana was from a town in Puerto Rico that she described as quiet and not having a lot going on, "It's on the south of the island, in the corner of the island. We don't have many things to tell about [our town]." Diana did not always have a deep interest in learning English or in going to college. She commented:

When I finished my high school, I wanted to be a nun, and I wanted to work to continue studying. So, but my parents opposed . . . my decision. So I only have an option. So I need to decided [*sic*] to go to college and study. And when that situation, I don't have any idea about what to study, but my first option was psychology, but when I made an interview to a psychologist and I don't [*sic*] like

her—his interview, and he *no me convenció* [didn't convince me]. And I decided to study Spanish.

Diana's decision to come to the U.S. was because she wanted to be near her husband. She said that when they were dating and he was accepted to the university, he had told her:

We can't continue seeing [each other] because I am going to . . . [the] university . . . My study is for approximately 5 years." Thus, "We decided to get married. . . . I got married on summer, and my husband was studying here, and he told me about the university, how it was. He told me about the department of Spanish here. Okay, I decided to come here.

Nicolas

Nicolas said that his parents came to the U.S. so that he could be born in the U.S. and have dual citizenship in order to study in the U.S. and have more career opportunities. After his birth, his family returned to Mexico and he was raised there. At 14, as he finished his second year of *secundaria* (middle school) in Mexico, Nicolas's parents brought him to live with relatives in the U.S. to finish his education. His aunt and uncle, who he lived with in the U.S., recommended that he repeat eighth grade instead of starting high school so that he could improve his English skills, and have time to acclimate to the culture of his new school. Nicolas regretted his family's decision, remarking that he "would've gone straight to high school" and now that he was in college he "can't really change anything." He expressed the desire to help other immigrant students learn from his experiences.

Nicolas felt that he was more dominant in Spanish than English and that he was still in the process of acquiring English. When he thought about being in English class in Mexico he said, "It was always a pain in the ass in my English class. I never thought it was going to be useful at all. I kind of regret it . . . I really didn't think it was important. The first time he felt motivated to learn English was when he came to the U.S., "When I

really started learning English was the first day that I was here in the United States.” He lived with cousins who helped him out with English at home, “My cousins, they helped me a lot, too. They would talk to me in English and Spanish, switching.”

Pre-university Experiences With Language, Literacy, and Education

Self-reported Language Abilities

The general confidence of study participants regarding language practices in both Spanish and English corresponded with age of arrival. The early arrivers were generally less confident, while the later arrivers expressed more confidence. Early arrivers experienced loss of the full range of use of their home/first language, Spanish. Furthermore, they never developed literacy practices in Spanish due to lack of schooling in Spanish. Their experiences with education in the U.S. created a situation of “subtractive bilingualism” rather than “additive bilingualism.” In subsequent sections, “Spanish at the University” and “Language Mixing,” I show that, in general, the early arrivers felt that they were bilingual, but did not feel that they were biliterate. I also show that, although the early arrivers did not have opportunities to develop the same types of bilingual/biliterate capabilities as the later arrivers, the two groups developed different views of language. The early arrivers developed more of a “bilingual” view of language, and the later arrivers developed views of the two languages as being “separate.” Table 10 shows the self-reported Spanish language abilities of the participants. Two early arrivers, Diego and Jenny, provided responses of “average” along with three responses of “below average.” The later arrivers, as well as one early arriver, Maria, provided responses of “above average” or “excellent.”

Table 10

Self-reported Spanish Abilities

Ability	Early arrivers			Later arrivers		
	Diego	Jenny	Maria	Cristina	Diana	Nicolas
Speaking	Average	Average	Excellent	Above average	Excellent	Excellent
Reading	Average	Average	Excellent	Above average	Excellent	Excellent
Writing	Below average	Below average	Average	Above average	Above average	Excellent
Vocabulary	Average	Average	Above average	Above average	Above average	Excellent
Grammar	Average	Poor	Below average	Average	Average	Excellent

Table 11 shows the self-reported English abilities of the participants. The predominant response provided by all of the participants was “average”; however, the later arrivers provided three responses of “above average” and one response of “excellent.” The findings indicated that, in general, all of the participants were somewhat ambivalent about their English abilities, while some of the responses from later arrivers expressed slightly greater confidence about their English abilities.

Table 11

Self-reported English Abilities

Ability	Early arrivers			Later arrivers		
	Diego	Jenny	Maria	Cristina	Diana	Nicolas
Speaking	Average	Average	Above average	Above average	Average	Above average
Reading	Average	Average	Above average	Above average	Average	Excellent

(table continues)

Table 11 (*continued*)

	Early arrivers			Later arrivers		
Ability	Diego	Jenny	Maria	Cristina	Diana	Nicolas
Writing	Average	Average	Above average	Average	Below average	Average
Vocabulary	Average	Average	Above average	Average	Average	Average
Grammar	Average	Average	Average	Average	Below average	Average

Later arrivers were more confident about their Spanish abilities, which was likely attributable to their having lived longer in a Spanish-dominant context, and having attended school in Spanish, while the earlier arrivers grew up and went to school where their home language was not the dominant one. Two of the three later arrivers, Cristina and Nicolas, also were more confident than the early ones in their English abilities. Why is it that two of the three later arrivers, Cristina and Nicolas, expressed slightly more confidence than two of the three earlier arrivers, Diego and Jenny, about their English language abilities? An exploration of this question, in the next section, will shed light on the issue.

Bilingual/Biliterate Development: Age of Arrival and School Contexts

Several factors corresponded with the participants' levels of confidence about their Spanish and English abilities. Early and later arrivers shared common educational experiences that likely contributed to their confidence about language, perspectives on education, and development along continua of bilingualism and biliteracy. All of these issues related to their college writing and writing experiences.

Early Arrivers: Issues of Subtractive Bilingualism

Early experiences: Losing Spanish at school but developing Spanish at home.

Early-arriving participants were exposed to fewer years of Spanish in Mexico than the later arrivers. First, their primary exposure to the language was in the home, so they received more restricted input of the language. Second, they received no formal education in Mexico, so their only exposure to formal instruction in Spanish was in bilingual education programs in elementary school in the U.S.

The story that Diego told about bilingual education was akin to “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu, 1991). He reported feeling that the purpose of it was to learn English and forget Spanish. He explained that studying at the university helped him to learn about his previous experiences with education in elementary school:

I didn’t know it then, but I look at it now, and it’s almost kinda like the instructions are in Spanish, and the work pretty much has to be done in English. . . . Trying to make you learn English, not necessarily an emphasis on keeping both [languages] and learning more English. I see it very much as kind of “forget this language and let’s move on” so they’ll use it as necessary. And when I think back about it, that’s how it seems to me, I’m pretty sure that’s exactly how it was meant to work . . . I’m pretty sure Spanish was only used minimally, just to make you understand but really trying to definitely focus more on English. So it was just used as necessary to learn English. I mean, as far as when I look back now, that’s what it was.

I asked Diego if he wished he had been provided with books in Spanish when he was in elementary school, and he told me his opinion of bilingual education and his political stance toward it:

kind of just make everyone learn English and not caring really much for what else they know. . . . I think that’s wrong in just so many ways . . . kind of like the legal system . . . tends to kind of—do away with bilingual education . . . train students to just learn English and forget Spanish . . . I don’t see nothing wrong with being bilingual. . . . It’s empowering.

Jenny echoed many of the same experiences as Diego. She reported participating in a bilingual education program, but that the emphasis was less on becoming bilingual in Spanish and English because the emphasis was more on learning English:

I had bilingual classes, but pretty much bilingual classes in my school was like, we were teaching in English but we'll interpret in Spanish, you know. . . . That's how I started to understand English. So if this means "pencil" Spanish is what, *lápiz* or you know, so that okay, so I started figuring out what were the words coming together. . . . But once you start getting used to English, English, English and then you go through high school through grammar school, through everything with English, you start forgetting about Spanish.

During first through third grades, Jenny said that her classes were in both Spanish and English, and in fourth through sixth grades they were in English, with some Spanish, if necessary, to help with comprehension. In grades 4-6, she went to a separate class for literacy instruction:

But when it came to reading and writing, those kids that had problems in speaking English or writing in English were transferred to another class at a certain period of time. And we would go into a classroom and talk to the teacher, and she would teach us reading and writing and stuff like that.

Jenny remembered doing little writing during the pull-out literacy instruction classes. The majority of what she recalled was related to answering comprehension questions related to a reading:

We did writing, but the writing was pretty much to answer questions. "What did the mother do with the dog after she cooked breakfast?" You know? And then, you would go to the reading and look for that sentence that says, you know, "The mother did this." And then, you'd write it down.

She said that writing at that time was not to "think about it or anything. No, it was just pretty much like go back in the reading and look at it, and then, write it down." She also remembered some other simple writing assignments, in which she described herself in some way, "I know we'd deal a lot with like—write about ourselves, write about our

family, write about your favorite color and why is it your favorite color. Like little things that would help us, you know, in the long run.”

As Maria recalled her first experiences with bilingual education, she said that, “it was more comfortable for us [her friends] to speak Spanish than to speak English.” She remembered her thought process at the time:

I didn’t really see the necessity, because to me, like English, was just like, oh, well, I’m just gonna speak English to the people that don’t know how to speak Spanish. And that’s just like my teachers. But my friends, why am I gonna speak English to them. So, basically, I would only speak English to teachers and in the classroom, but not outside.

Maria recounted that “they eliminated bilingual education [from the] school system, I remember my mom was really mad. Like she told me that I was in bilingual education.”

Her mother was steadfast in her determination for her daughter to read and write in Spanish, and she taught Maria Spanish literacy at home:

I learned how to read in Spanish through my mom, like I didn’t learn from [school]. . . . She would sit down next to me and she would . . . write the letters and, she would read something and I would read, too, and just like teachers are supposed to do. . . . My mom tells me that I wanted to go to school already when I was 3. . . . I know that I knew how to read already when I was in kindergarten. . . . She would buy me Spanish books, and I would read those books. . . . Not only did we have to read the book, but we would have to like write a whole passage of the book, like with the accents and everything. . . . And if we didn’t know how to read it, she would correct me. Like, “Oh, well, you didn’t stop. Because there’s a period there. You need to stop.” Or, “That’s not the way you’re supposed to say it.” She would just correct me.

Although Maria’s mother taught her and one of her sisters how to read in Spanish, she did not teach her youngest sister because by the time she was born she was working and did not have time. Maria relayed that her mother felt guilty because she thought that her youngest sister would be doing better in school if she had worked with her in the same way as with her other daughters. Maria explained:

The things that I already knew or my other sister knew, like she learned them really late because the teachers were not doing their job. And she kind of lacked the Spanish, just writing in Spanish, 'cause somehow my sister and I loved to read books, but she hates it. She hates it. She hates to read. And she hates writing.

Middle school experiences: Lack of relevance and waning engagement. Diego told me about the most significant writing he remembered from middle school. It was the “biggest assignment” and they “spent pretty much the whole eighth grade” on it. The teacher provided the students with writing prompts related to their personal lives, and they wrote about them in class. He described the assignment as “kind of just a bunch of stuff that we wrote, kind of about family, what do we wanna do when we graduate.” He said that he wrote “kind of like chapters, chapters about my family, a chapter about my hero . . . about my favorite book.”

As he explained it, I sensed no enthusiasm, so I asked, “Did you get tired of it?” and his response was, “No, I think we thought it was fun.” He then told me what the teacher did, and how long it lasted. I responded by saying, “It sounds like you guys liked it,” and Diego replied, “Well, I don’t think I cared for it.”

He presented two different perceptions about the middle school assignment. To understand such ambivalences in the data, I drew on Holstein and Gubrium’s (1995) concept of the active interview. In their discussion they pointed out that respondents draw on a variety of “stocks of knowledge” (p. 33) during an interview. At one point Diego mentioned that he liked that assignment because it activated his stock of knowledge about the writing he did, and it seemed that he enjoyed it at times. When I mentioned to him my positive perception of his recounting, it seemed to activate another stock of knowledge in which school was a space that he did not care for, partly because it did not usually engage him.

Diego then expanded on negative aspects of the experience. For example, he told me about his grades, behavior, and how much he learned. He told me the grade he received in eighth grade on a memoir assignment: “Yeah, actually I received an F . . . for those classes, for my Language Arts class. . . . Like my final grade was a D. Like I barely passed that class.” He focused mainly on his own behavior:

Yeah, I was really bad, I’m ashamed to say. . . . So the teacher was a very nice teacher . . . she was kind of lenient. So I think me and a couple of other students kind of abused that. . . . I can say I learned, I didn’t learn enough at least as I should have, but because of, I guess, my attitude and just the way I behaved, my behavior. It’s not so much because we weren’t taught stuff.

For Jenny, school was all in English beginning in seventh grade. She talked about the time leading up to seventh grade with some trepidation. She indicated that in sixth grade it was especially important to put effort into learning English and becoming comfortable in English before getting to seventh grade:

You know, so we were using Spanish just a little bit. She [her teacher] was just trying to mainly focus on English a lot. ‘Cause knowing that seventh grade was coming up, no longer were we gonna be using Spanish. Because [many of] the teachers in seventh grade, they didn’t know Spanish.

During Jenny’s time in K-6, she had become accustomed to drawing on Spanish as a resource to communicate with her teachers and classmates, albeit to a limited extent. Jenny was indignant about the fact that she knew that her seventh grade teachers spoke Spanish, but they would not speak to her in Spanish if she addressed them in Spanish:

Seventh grade came up, and it was all English. My English was already very fluent, you know; I knew most of the things. So some of the things I would be like, “Whatever you call that?” My teachers spoke Spanish, but every time . . . I would talk to them in Spanish, . . . they’d be like, “I don’t understand.” So I had to do it in English. . . . Like they knew where we came from. We came from bilingual.

Jenny talked about how she felt self-conscious speaking in English in front of people in seventh and eighth grades:

knowing that I don't like to read out loud, I would never read out loud, the teacher would call me up and would be like, "Can you read for this paragraph?" I would be like, "No, I don't like to read." . . . I knew that my English was kind of weird, because I had an accent, so I knew people were like, "Oh, well, you don't know how to read English. You read really slow." And there were these people in my class that would actually read slow. . . . People would start making fun of them. So I felt like, okay, you know, I'm not gonna say nothing because then they're gonna make fun of me, you know?

In our second interview, Jenny spoke about the summer Transitions program she participated in. One of the topics was "Should English Be the Only Language Spoken Here?" She chose not to write a paper on that topic, but I asked her what she thought about it and she said:

I don't think it [English] should be the only language spoken. It's hard. I know that it was hard for me, and I know it's gonna be hard for other people. So it shouldn't be. Someone should help, you know, that person. . . . So, nope, it shouldn't be only English in the classroom or in high school or anything like that.

Like Diego and Jenny, Maria did not remember feeling engaged in middle school:

In sixth grade . . . my teacher was basically—he was boring. [chuckle] . . . we would just sit down and read. That's what I remember doing. . . . That's all I remember from that. And from my seventh grade teacher, he would show movies of fairy tales.

Maria remembered her seventh grade history teacher used Spanish in class, "He would say certain words in Spanish, I guess to connect with the students. Just for that purpose, I think. He was comfortable. I don't know. But he did speak Spanish, but not to teach the class." She really liked and appreciated the fact that he did use Spanish:

I think people feel more comfortable, especially if they speak Spanish, if they know that someone there knows how to speak Spanish, too. . . . So I think that in some circumstances it would be great that sometimes a teacher would just like talk to a student in Spanish . . . because of that connection.

I asked Maria what she thought about using Spanish in school now that she was looking back on her experiences:

I think it would make sense if like some students needed the help in Spanish. . . . I don't know if it would be a good idea to teach in Spanish unless everyone there is Spanish because in my classroom . . . there were some African-American students there. I don't think they would understand everything, you know? So I think that in some circumstances, yeah, it would be great that sometimes a teacher would just like talk to a student in Spanish, just like because of that connection. And it makes it easier for a student to go up to a teacher and talk to that person, you know. Because, hey, we share something in common or something. . . . Yeah, that's what I think.

Later Arrivers: Exploring Additive Bilingualism and Higher Confidence

The later-arriving participants grew up and went to school in Mexico or Puerto Rico for part or all of their childhoods in contexts where their home language, Spanish, was the dominant language. Accounts of their educational experiences focused on learning English rather than maintaining Spanish. Because they received formal education in Mexico or Puerto Rico, they received literacy instruction in Spanish, and learned content in Spanish. In addition, they received English language instruction in school.

In Mexico, Cristina attended a private elementary school, and when she arrived in the U.S., much of the content in school was easy because she had learned it previously in Mexico. Cristina commented:

I went to a private school. It was . . . different from here, it was more disciplined. And it was harder . . . when I came here I knew everything . . . I had learned in the grade before. . . . Except for like the history part. . . . For math especially like the little stuff . . . I felt that I already knew everything and that it was a waste of my time.

Much of the writing instruction focused on practicing grammar and writing conventions, and Cristina viewed herself as a good reader and writer:

We started learning how to read in first grade [in Mexico]. When I got out of first grade I already knew how to read very good and write really good. And ever since first grade, they were really strict about it. You really had to get everything right. . . . I remember when I would do my homework . . . they would cross out the whole page for . . . one little thing that I would mess up on.

Cristina arrived in the U.S. at age 10, and started fifth grade at a Catholic school.

In recalling her ESL class, she commented:

Well, it was pretty much Mexican people and . . . it was boring . . . I got out of it really quick because, because I caught onto it really fast. But she was teaching them stuff because they really didn't know anything. . . . I wasn't really getting very much out of it in ESL because they were pretty behind me. . . . She would help us with our homework if we didn't understand it. Like sometimes I wouldn't understand everything . . . on the homework, like what did it say right there, and she would tell me in Spanish, or she would try to explain it to me in English. They really tried not to speak Spanish.

Cristina mentioned her recollections of specific subjects:

Math I could do. . . . Science, I didn't like it that much. I don't think we ever learned anything about science in Mexico . . . like chemistry and all that, that was new to me in . . . sixth grade when they started learning about it. . . . Social studies, so that was kind of hard. . . . But science was like my hardest subject. And English, writing papers and stuff. I couldn't write papers.

Cristina talked about how she drew on her experiences in Mexico when she first started school in the U.S., "In math it's just like Spanish and English; you just have to learn like the difference. That's why it was like the same for me." However, sometimes she did not make connections, and her perception was that it was very difficult to do so:

We can't really relate it, because it's two different languages . . . But, 'cause nothing's the same, as social studies you're not going to learn the same thing over there as here; English you are not going to learn the same thing as over here because there are grammar differences and everything, spelling. Science, I was never taught over there, and I didn't start learning science until about sixth grade.

Cristina reflected on what it was like transitioning from school in Mexico to the U.S.:

Cristina: When I was in Mexico, and then I came here when I was in fifth grade, and I had to learn everything differently. Like I wasn't done learning or growing up, but also if I wouldn't have done that, I wouldn't have

caught on to the English language as fast as I did, 'cause I would have been more grown up and when you're older, you know, you learn slower. . . . I feel like I am always going to be behind, though. Like everyone else is going to be ahead, and I will be like stuck behind.

Jason: In terms of

Cristina: Of writing.

Like Cristina, Nicolas also attended a private school in Mexico. He remembered few writing experiences in his native country, commenting "I didn't really write." I asked what he thought it meant to write a good essay in Spanish; he responded, "I don't know if in Mexico they have essays." He explained his lack of memories about learning to write in Mexico by saying, "I didn't go that far, to write," meaning that he did not go to school long enough in Mexico to get to the point where formal writing instruction was provided.

Nicolas recalled memories of his little sister being in kindergarten, and seeing the notebook in which she practiced forming letters by completing pages of a notebook with each letter of the alphabet one by one, "and then you do pages and pages of that, starting to learn how to write." His recollection was that literacy instruction focused primarily on reading, and the main type of writing that Nicolas reported remembering was summaries, "It was just about reading, and I hated reading. And writing, it was just more like, I don't know, it was just summaries. She's like, 'Do the summary of this,' and that's it."

When Nicolas arrived in the U.S., he was placed in the eighth grade. He remembered that there were very different writing expectations than in Mexico:

There was a transition because in Mexico I didn't really write. . . . In the States, it was more like an essay is going to be part of my career now, my life. Writing essays, I didn't realize that. So it was just little by little, it kind of came like a big wave of essays.

I wanted to find out how Nicolas drew on his experiences with literacy in Spanish as he developed English literacy in the U.S.:

Sometimes I would have to look up a couple of sentences in Spanish. . . . I did have to make little comments in Spanish . . . but then, after that, English became so much a big part of my life, that in Spanish. . . . You're gonna think it's a little easier when you're over here because you practice it so much, you know.

Nicolas reported that his perception was that the Spanish writing instruction he received in Mexico had little effect on his writing in English. He said that he was not certain if essays existed in Mexico, but if they did, he would counsel his sister to write the same way in Spanish as he learned in English. In his own words, "I don't know if in Mexico they have essays . . . in case they do, I would tell her [his sister] the same thing in Spanish, you know. I really don't have no idea."

Nicolas was not happy with his ESL class in middle school, and he did not like his ESL teacher. He felt that the teacher did not like the students and was not invested in helping them learn:

All we did was fill out the worksheets and give it back to him. He wouldn't talk to us. I really felt like we were the rejected people that nobody liked. You know, the ones with the sickness? It was like do your thing and leave. . . . They would tell us just do the worksheets. . . . The whole year was worksheets.

In addition to the lack of instruction on writing as a social act, Nicolas also said that he spoke a lot of Spanish in his ESL class, which he also felt detracted from improving his English. He said, "In my ESL it was all Hispanics. I would talk Spanish. You know, it wouldn't help at all. At the lunch table, it was all in Spanish. So it wouldn't help." Nicolas felt that he learned more English in classes other than his ESL class, "I think I learned English from my other classes than ESL class . . . we would interact with teachers and students."

Nicolas talked about how he thought it was easier for him to learn English in his ESL class than it was for some of the other students from Mexico by saying, “But I know Spanish and was educated in Spanish and they weren’t. So it was harder for them because they probably didn’t go to school and stuff.” He recognized that because of his family background and the opportunities his background afforded him, his educational experiences were different from some of his peers who were from lower income, rural communities and did not have access to the same opportunities.

Nicolas reported learning little, in general, in middle school, “Because he (Nicolas’s middle school ESL teacher) didn’t tell me what an essay was and a lot of other stuff. I learned that in high school.”

Out of all three of the later arriving participants, Diana remembered the most about her earliest school experiences. She recalled, “I begin my school at 3 years, and in that school, it’s like Head Start . . . and they teach us the colors and some letters, and they wrote lines with the form of the letter.” As did Cristina and Nicolas, she remembered focusing on grammar and accuracy and doing a lot of reading and literacy activities:

We read the Spanish. We studied the grammar in Spanish, but also we read short stories or made different exercises of grammar, the lecture [*reading*], oral presentations also. And also many activities in the week of the language. The language week. They have . . . one week that we can memorize the Spanish language.

Diana spoke further about some of the literacy activities, especially related to one called “language week”:

We made presentations. Different students prepare some presentations about some topic or about some author that he represents this week. And so, if you can wrote something, maybe you can draw something . . . different activities that the person can learn about the author or about the language.

Diana also recalled vocabulary lessons, and using writing to reinforce vocabulary:

The teacher made many presentations about the vocabulary that we learned in the story . . . and after that, we need to write sentences about the word that we learned . . . she dictated the words, and then, she want to know if we know the meaning of the words, so we write some sentence, using the words.

Diana also remembered a writing activity from elementary school, “for example, the family, and we need to bring some illustration of the family and write some sentence describing the family or another topic that she gave us.”

Diana began learning English in elementary school, “In kindergarten, you learn the colors and . . . the basic words in English. And then, you continue taking English in every grade.” She said that her English instruction was not very systematic because she changed schools. She remembered some activities for practicing English, for example, spelling bees and oral talks. She also remembered learning parts of the body and English literacy activities: “In first grade, I remember that the things that they teach us was something like the parts of the body, or short stories like the short story of Bingo.”

I asked Diana what she thought about English in elementary school:

To me the English [chuckle] was boring because I no practice the English out of the school, so I only participate a few minutes, and then I forget everything. It was difficult also because for the ideals of my family, we saw the English like in both languages. So when I was on elementary school, I think that I react in the right way to learn English. . . . Okay, I take the class because it was a requirement but not because I wanted to. So it was difficult to learn. I did my work because I like to have a good grade, but really I’m not paying a good attention.

Diana said that when her parents saw that she was not interested in learning English, they were concerned: “I saw their reaction, because they much rather that I learn English, and also they don’t know how to speak English.”

High School Contexts

Table 12 shows that the early arrivers attended urban high schools in which the percentage of low-income students ranged from 90-98%, well above the state average of

40%. Two performance indicators, ACT scores and graduation rates, indicate that their high schools tended to be lower-performing compared to state averages, and compared to the high schools of the later-arriving participants in this study. The average ACT scores in the lower-performing high schools ranged from 14.7-15.4, well below the state average of 20.1, and the graduation rates ranged from 58-71%, compared to the state average of 87%.

Table 12

High School Contexts

State averages	% low income 40	Avg ACT 20.1	Grad rate 87	% Hispanic 18	Setting
Earlier arrivers					
Diego's high school	98	14.7	58	82	Urban
Jenny's high school	91	14.8	71	75	Urban
Maria's high school	90	15.4	58	83	Urban
Later arrivers					
Nicolas's high school	16	19.3	90	57	Suburban
Cristina's high school	24	20.7	90	27	Suburban
Diana's high school	Title I	NA	PR avg—67.8	99	Rural, Puerto Rico

The later-arriving participants attended suburban high schools in which the percentage of low-income students ranged from 16-24%, well below the state average of 40%. ACT scores and graduation rates, show that the later-arriving students attended high schools that tended to be close to the state averages. The average ACT scores in the

higher-performing high schools ranged from 19.3-20.7, 0.8 points below the state average or 0.6 points above the state average of 20.1, and the graduation rates were at 90%, as compared to the state average of 87%.

It is also significant to point out that the percentage of Hispanic (the state board of education uses the term “Hispanic”) students that attended all of these high schools was considerably higher than state averages. The percentage of Hispanic students at the lower-income, lower-performing, urban high schools ranged from 57-64%, way above the state average of 18%, and the percentage at the higher-income, higher-performing, suburban high schools ranged from 30-35%.

Early Arrivers: “Bad High Schools” and Lack of Connection

When talking about their high school experiences, there was agreement among the early-arriving participants that their high schools did not prepare them well for college. Diego and Jenny, in particular, reported that they did little writing in high school.

Diego: Irrelevant instruction. Diego explained why he did not remember much about his writing experiences in school, “I don’t think I applied myself.” He seemed to become somewhat frustrated during the interview and said:

I kinda wanna just tell you like the specific time where we wrote, and I can’t, ‘cause, I mean, as far as like my experience during that certain age kind of like my early teenage years, it was just—it was always like a bad experience kinda like in school, kind of just the whole behavior problems.

He pointed out, “I was really bad, I’m ashamed to say.”

When I asked Diego why he thought negatively about school and acted out, he responded “Like I think I know why. I think just the assignments that we were just given, I just wasn’t interested in at all.” Diego was interested in politics, and commented that he never got a chance to do things related to that in high school. “I guess I never thought

anything was ever relevant to kind of what I was interested on.” He said that his experiences in middle school when he was disruptive and acted out “has always, I think, kind of like followed me”:

I was kind of like a disruptive kid as far as when it came to that. And so, it would be in the classes that I wasn’t interested in. And so, sometimes it would be the literature or the writing class, because of—now that I think about it, ‘cause I mean, I wasn’t interested in there.

Diego did, however, find some classes in high school in which he was engaged:

But, I mean, those classes that I did like learning—‘cause I remember taking—here was a Latin American Studies class where I was like always there on time and it was like my first class of the day and I was there. And I loved it.

Diego also remembered that he took a speech and debate class that involved writing, and he liked it.

Towards the end of the interview, when our conversation about Diego’s writing experiences began to wind down, I asked him about other writing he might have done outside of school, for example, personal writing or writing at home. He thought about that, started to answer, and then stopped and said, “I’ve got a question.” He asked me:

I’m trying to think of it in terms of your research and how my writing experience and experience with bilingual education and stuff like that, how that’s really gonna help. So are you trying to find like different factors that kind of influence just people whose English is their second language?

I sensed that Diego felt cautious about the purpose of my research. I know from his account of his experience with bilingual education that he felt that the educational system did not always act in his best interest. It seemed that he felt that I was focusing on him and what he did not do, focusing on the fact that English was not his first language and that he participated in bilingual education but not focusing on other elements. Also, he said that the interview was causing him to piece together his experiences:

As I think back, I'm trying to like put it together for myself as well and kind of just think back. I think I'm kind of doing it, but I don't know. I guess 'cause I've never just really thought about it, going back and trying to put it together.

The more he spoke about his school experiences, the more developed his explanation of them became, compared to earlier conversations:

I think just not even specifically just writing or kind of just English, just the whole education, there's so much to it, kind of just a bunch of factors that contribute to a person's education . . . I'm talking about . . . community and stuff like that . . . and kind of like what school means to that community and what role it plays. . . . I was just wondering what exactly you're looking for.

Clearly, Diego's experiences with writing in high school had been frustrating for him. Furthermore, he seemed frustrated with me and somewhat cautious—his voice was quiet, and he often looked down while we were talking. During the interview I approached the topic from a neutral perspective, asking “What kind of writing did you do?” Although he clearly stated that he wanted to answer my questions, towards the end of the discussion he explained to me that he felt it was a difficult topic to discuss. He also explained that there was a lot more to him and his educational experiences than the fact that Spanish was his first language and he was bilingual:

I think you've also gotta consider that there's just education level, I mean, I don't know how this applies to the other students, but kind of like my education, from schools that I went to are kind of ranked kind of like at the lowest. Kind of just the high schools, like on probation and stuff like that. So I think you've gotta consider kind of like those factors as far as coming from a public school system.

Diego said that before his senior year of high school he had never planned on attending college. He said that the reason for that was that “I'd been working with my father. He's an electrician.” Diego told about why he changed his initial plans:

I decided I wanted to be a teacher first, before I decided that I wanted to continue with my education . . . in my senior year, I have been taking a class with an art teacher that I had. Seeing him, I guess it was just his influence . . . how he conducted himself as a teacher, and him being from the same community and still

living there. It just meant a lot. And so, therefore, I decided I wanted to do something similar to that, you know.

It made an impression on Diego that his art teacher was from his community because “[he] had never had a teacher that taught and lived in the community, was a member of the community, and understood the students at the level he did.” He talked more about what that teacher inspired in him:

And so, I guess this interest in education, as far as I saw high school as just getting through it and just doing it and not really caring much for what I learned. . . . He exposed me to that teacher role that he played in the community, which really gave me a lot of understanding and interest and hope to become a teacher myself.

Jenny: Little writing instruction and a bad high school. Jenny focused on the lack of writing instruction she received in school. She said that she learned how to write at the university, not in high school:

In high school, we were never asked to do papers. Our senior year, we were asked to do an 8- to 10-page paper, and we . . . didn’t want this paper because ever since freshman year, we were never taught how to write a paper. . . . So everybody was like, “Well, why are you asking us to do this when freshman year, nobody asked us about this?” You know? I would say freshman year, I had—we had an album we had to do, and we had to write about our family members, you know? But it was pretty much little paragraphs, you know. . . . And we actually were writing petitions saying we didn’t want this paper, that we were not gonna do it, because we were never taught to.

Jenny said that she received little instruction or guidance on how to complete the writing assignment, but she was able to get help from her chemistry teacher:

They started to say—they gave us pointers like about what we could write about and about how many sources we needed and how much information we needed to have, how much statistics, how many documentary and things like that. But they never taught us, you know, “You should always start with the author [inaudible] at the first, you know, you should always start with this, or you should always start with a story, or you should start with a statistic and then start your paper.” You know? . . . And my teacher that helped me was my chemistry teacher! My chemistry teacher . . . She’s like, “Well, this is how you start a paper . . . If you want to catch your audience’s attention, you wanna start it like this.”

Like Diego, Jenny also attributed her high school experiences with writing to the type of high school that she had attended:

Yeah, because high school never really gave us a lot, you know? My school is a school on probation. Our average ACT in that high school is a 15. So if you do better than a 15, you're above their level, you know.

In addition to the low ACT scores, she mentioned the fact that the school was on probation and she felt some teachers did not believe in the students:

I had bad teachers for English, you know. My school . . . is on probation, you know. . . . And we always have those teachers, too, that don't believe in you, you know, and think like, "Oh, well, you're not college material, so don't bother going because the professor is not gonna like this, so don't go. Don't make an embarrassment of yourself."

Maria: Opportunities to write, and still feeling unprepared for college. Maria said that high school felt "like a prison . . . the administration was really mean with us, like with anyone. They were just really rude and really like if we were criminals, like if we were bad." Her perception was that "a lot of the people in that school have low expectations of us." In addition, she felt that she did not get opportunities to learn about Mexican culture and history in high school:

I was raised in a working class environment, with schools that were not that efficient and whatever, and I'm always learning about the majority population and stuff, and I never learned about myself and whatever. Then it's like, okay, why am I always learning about people that I don't connect with? Why can't I learn about people that look like me and that connect with experiences or whatever, you know, and our language?

Despite the negative perceptions of the school, Maria liked learning and doing her work in school. In Maria's autobiography she wrote briefly about her positive perception of learning in high school:

Excerpt 2: Maria's autobiography paper (Appendix E)
High school was not difficult for me. I loved school and enjoyed learning and doing my schoolwork

In high school, she had opportunities to write “in almost every single class.” She described the writing she did in a math class, and a research paper in a science class. In addition, she worked at the school’s writing center as a peer tutor. She described the writing center as “a place where students check other students’ papers, but the students who are checking the paper were trained to do so.”

In the following excerpt from an autobiography paper she wrote for a university Latina/o studies courses, Maria explained some of what she felt about being in college and how it connected to her high school experiences:

Excerpt 3: Maria’s Autobiography paper (Appendix E)

I thought college was going to be easy, but it was not. I did not come prepared, my teachers in high school did not prepare me to be in one of the top schools in Illinois. In high school, all that administration wants is to get rid of you and not really teach you. There are few teachers that actually care about one’s education. I thank those few teachers who taught me well.

Later Arrivers: Significant Experiences Connecting to Academic Writing

Cristina: Good high school and preparing for college. Cristina attended high school in a suburb of a large city, “500-600 in my class . . . it was okay. It wasn’t a bad high school. I learned. They help you out. . . . It wasn’t the greatest, but I am sure I got stuff out of it.” Cristina talked a little about what she learned in high school:

It prepared me for college in some ways. Being organized, I never really learned anything, you don’t really have to learn anything in high school, you can just memorize statistics and do your tests and homework and your assignments. But it prepared me to be organized and to not wait to the last minute to do things.

In addition to school work, Cristina mentioned several extracurricular activities she participated in during high school:

I’m in water polo. . . . I like it. I played in high school, like for 3 years. I was in NHS, so we would do stuff. I was always in sports. At one point I was in . . . the student council. I was in a Hispanic women’s group. We would have like meetings and stuff.

Cristina mentioned a little more about the Hispanic women's group, "You had to meet certain requirements to be in it. You couldn't just be in it . . . you had to have a certain GPA, . . . be Hispanic and I think that's it. Just the GPA thing." Talking about the leader of the Hispanic women's group, "She was Hispanic, so she definitely helped us out a lot."

Cristina's account of her high school educational experiences focused on learning about analytical writing. She mentioned a few experiences with analysis in high school English classes, for example, "We read *Of Mice and Men* and we would have to reflect on it, and read and focus on the specific character and write about him." Also, when I asked her about a positive experience with writing, she told me about a paper she wrote in which she analyzed a character in Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*. She said that it was an extremely difficult paper, but she got a good grade on it, and felt it was an accomplishment. Cristina reported that she developed a thesis statement about a character, and used quotes from the text to back up her claims and develop her argument.

Cristina also discussed her thought processes related to choosing the university where she was enrolled. She was comfortable with her choice:

I didn't want to get out of state because of the high tuition rates, . . . and I wanted to be far away from home, but close enough to go home like whenever I felt like it. And it was just perfect. And when I came for orientation, I felt comfortable and I liked how it was and everything. I liked it a lot.

Cristina also mentioned that the high school faculty member in charge of the Hispanic Women's Club, who also was Hispanic, helped her with her application: "She was Hispanic . . . she definitely helped us out a lot . . . In the essays and everything."

Nicolas: Getting out of ESL and learning to connect personally. From the eighth through eleventh grades, Nicolas attended school in Texas. Then he moved to another part of the country where he completed twelfth grade. In high school, he was placed in

content-based ESL classes, which he disliked because he felt that they were too slow and basic:

I took biology, chemistry, math, and regular classes, but at the lower level because I had the same students in my class that were in my ESL class, from all the classes. . . . So it was pretty much like, they gave us the lowest teacher. . . . Like we're illiterate . . . like we had never seen a chemistry book before in my life, but like I'd never took a lesson like this in all my classes, so they were taking baby steps instead of real steps. . . . That was my freshman year.

In his sophomore year, Nicolas moved out of ESL classes and into mainstream ones: "So my sophomore year I was taking AP English, I was taking algebra II, I was taking geometry, I was taking biology or chemistry, one of those. I took soccer instead of PE. I took speech."

Nicolas was happy to be out of the ESL track, but it caused some problems for him with his friends.

So I got out of ESL and I didn't talk to the same people. I was hanging out with the White crowd. These kids are talking shit to me. They're like "You're a White kid now. Who do you think you are? Do you think you're better than us?" Blah, blah, blah. So I felt betrayed from them. . . . They thought I was somebody better than them . . . I felt like it was going to be exhausting to try to explain to everybody, so I was like, you know what, think whatever you want. Don't be mad at me because you can't get out of ESL.

Nicolas also joined the soccer team, and hung out with the "White crowd" on the team:

But then I joined the soccer team and the soccer team had nothing but Caucasians. It was all White people, and I was the only Mexican, the only Hispanic. So, okay, I started hanging out with them, too, a lot. We became best friends, all of us, because they were my teammates.

In general, Nicolas had a positive experience in high school, both academically and personally, "I know my teachers very well. They like me because I'm never in trouble. . . . I was always A's and B's and a couple C's."

Nicolas remembered reading *Romeo and Juliet* in high school. He said, “I don’t know why, but I got so much into the book, man, like . . . we took a test and I aced it. I knew everybody and I knew everything. I don’t know, I liked the book.” In addition to the test, he also wrote an essay about the play, and said that his teacher told him to include personal experiences, which he did, and he really liked writing that way:

We had to make an essay about . . . a personal experience. And my teacher told me that’s what’s always good in an essay, so I think I took it too much of a good advice because I was using personal experiences. Because I’ve been through a lot, and when it came down to an essay, if I went through it I’ll tell you about it. . . . And that helped me.

Nicolas learned from that experience that he could incorporate his personal experiences in his writing and he commented, “I would use a lot of personal experiences, what I went through.” He also revealed that in high school sometimes he would write for himself, “write stories and my point of view of life, the secrets of the universe, stuff like that, man, just crazy philosophical stuff.” He compared the writing he did for himself with the writing he did for school, saying

It’s not like I like it [school writing]. I have to do it. It’s for a grade . . . because you have to follow the rules. When I was doing my stuff, I was just doing writing for writing. I didn’t care about the commas. I didn’t care about the periods. I was just writing.

After his junior year in Texas, Nicolas said that “All of a sudden everything crashes and I’m going to the north.” He spent one year in high school in a suburb of a northern city. He was not as animated when he spoke about his senior year. He mentioned that his English teacher was Latina, and that he learned about mechanics of writing from her:

My English teacher was Hispanic, too. She was a really smart lady. She taught me works cited a little bit, like how to use quotes. Not just throw quotes in, you know. Page numbers and all that, the author’s last name. It was more about that,

you know, the transition and all that. . . . So that was interesting. So I learned a couple of things.

Diana: Warming up to English and expressing her identity in high school. Diana said that when she was in Puerto Rico she rarely used English: “When I was in Puerto Rico, I don’t use the English except with I have some friends that come from here to Puerto Rico, and don’t speak Spanish. But I not use.” The friends she was referring to were nuns from the United States with whom she worked in a convent. Working with the nuns influenced her attitudes about the English language:

When I was on eighth grade, I begin to work with nuns and help them to work in the convent. My decision [not to speak English] changed because some of the nuns come from the United States and not speak Spanish. So I need to communicate with them . . . so I decided that the English is not only the imposed English; also it’s a good way to communicate with other persons.

Diana attended a private high school where the textbooks were in English, but the classes were in Spanish, “In the private school, my class are in Spanish, for example, math class and science class—both the textbooks are in English.” She participated in extracurricular activities. “I don’t always stay in the class work. I was a member in different organizations in my high school, and I participate in everything—activities.”

Diana remembered writing activities that focused on accuracy, grammar, and mechanics, “Also in my high school, some of the professors made dictation of paragraphs, and then she correct them and return us, and we need to rewrite, to practice the corrections.” In addition, she remembered doing reflective writing, “We need to write reflections for each story during the 5 minutes at the beginning of the class.” Diana also mentioned that she did projects in high school:

We need to prepare some projects about some topics, and—but we made the project in the class for parts, each day you made one part of the project. She’d revise it, and you pass in your house the part that you made in the classroom, and then return. And

when finish the week, you're supposed to finish the project and then bring to the professor the final.

Diana shared papers with me that she wrote in Puerto Rico in high school in which she unselfconsciously expressed religious and moral aspects of her identity. For example:

Visión del futuro de nuestro país [Vision of the future of our country]: About family in Puerto Rico; she invoked religion, and talked about the Puerto Rican government.

Los programas televisivos y su efecto en la sociedad [Television programs and their effect in society]: About Puerto Rican media and society

La Guerra [War]: A poetic, religious essay against war in general

Radio [Radio]: A short discussion of an opinion piece about the state of music and radio in Puerto Rico

For Diana, learning to write in high school was a positive experience, “I think it was a good experience because [it] helped me to express my feelings and also to expand the ways that I communicate.” Diana learned that writing is a process, and that it takes effort:

It isn't an easy process because you need to meditate. And when you want to write a good paper, you need time for that because you need to . . . organize your idea . . . then, put your ideas in the paper, and then, read the paper . . . and then, you're looking for someone that read your paper. It's an interesting process.

Diana studied at the university in Puerto Rico for 2 years, the first in her family to do so. She had wanted to be a nun, but her parents were opposed to the idea: “So, but my parents opposed with my decision. So I only have an option. So I decided that I needed to go to college and study.”

In the university in Puerto Rico, Diana also did a lot of writing:

When I went to the university in Puerto Rico, my first professor . . . is very dynamic and has many activities. So sometimes he tells us, “Okay, go out to the classroom, walk for awhile around the university, observe, take notes about what you observe, and then, come to the classroom, connect the things that—the similar words that you see, and then write.”

Diana also shared papers she wrote at the university in Puerto Rico for her Spanish literature class in which she learned about Puerto Rican identity. She wrote papers about Puerto Rican literature, for example, *El Baúl de Miss Florence*, and *La Charca*.

University Writing Experiences: Struggle, Boundaries, Blurred Boundaries

In this section, I illustrate how the participants' experiences with immigration, language (more validating, additive contexts versus less validating, subtractive contexts), and education (higher-performing, higher-income high schools versus lower-performing-lower income high schools) played out in areas of their writing practices and experiences at the university. The findings are organized according to the following themes: hybridity, grammar, support networks, Spanish at the university, "language catching," and code-switching.

Hybridity: Reflections and Refractions

This theme characterized two of the three early arrivers, Maria and Diego, while it did not characterize the later arriver participants. Maria and Diego's accounts of their experiences in general at the university and, in particular, with writing in rhetoric and Latina/o Studies courses show that they were searching for places where they felt validated, because they sometimes experienced the university as negative and challenging.

Maria—Un Choque, a Cultural Collision

Maria referred to facing a culture at the university that differed from her own experience, a separation between "the majority and the minority," as Maria termed it. She

explained the separation and her feelings as “culture shock,” or what Anzaldúa described as, “*un choque*, a cultural collision” (1999, p. 100). In a paper she wrote for one of her Latino/a Studies courses, Maria described the collision:

Excerpt 4: Maria’s autobiography paper (Appendix E)

Beginning college was a different experience of my life. I was between two worlds again. . . . Living both on the West Coast and in the (another part of the country), I had never seen so many White people in my life. . . . I crashed between two worlds: the one in college and the one back at home.

Her views and writing experiences seemed to coincide with her feeling that she was “between two cultures, two languages, two selves.” Although Maria understood that the argument is more important in writing than vocabulary or grammar, she was afraid of doing something wrong in her writing. Her Latina/o Studies class cultivated a view of writing in which she experimented with language and style. Maria believed that developing an argument was more important than vocabulary and grammar:

I think what makes an effective writer is just like delivering your ideas in a good way, . . . making other people understand your points . . . because you could have like the most, I guess, the greatest vocabulary, a good vocabulary, and, I guess, know the best grammar and everything, but if you don’t present your ideas in a way that everyone understands it, then it doesn’t matter. I think it’s just about presenting your ideas.

This explanation of what makes an effective writer is similar to what she learned from working as a peer tutor in her high school writing center:

I think that one of the things that was good about the program was that we could just write whatever we want as long as we present a good argument, then it’s a good paper. But if you’re writing whatever you want and you don’t present anything, then it’s a bad paper. So that’s basically what I learned.

However, she also came across instances that made her fearful about writing:

I’m always afraid that I’m not interpreting the text correctly . . . everyone interprets things differently. You know? As long as you have a good argument, then it’s right . . . I’m so afraid of poetry ‘cause I’m like, I don’t know, you know, how to analyze this. I don’t know if I’m gonna do it correctly, and I never got that

point that, yes, well, if you make a good argument, then you're gonna get a good grade.

Maria talked about the fact that she sees grammatical errors in her papers and realizes that she needs to make sure to reread and revise her papers (in terms of grammatical accuracy) before turning them in:

You know, just being here in college, that's what I'm gonna learn from here in college, you know, like you need to revise your papers in order to get a good grade. 'Cause like right now, I don't think I'm doing really well in my classes [because of a lack of accuracy in usage of Standard English, and difficulty with interpretation].

This perception of what she was learning about writing and the importance of grammatical accuracy fit with her future projections about what it would be like to be an English teacher:

College is supposed to prepare me for my future job, you know? . . . What I'm writing and like the feedback that I get back, I should just take it in and try to, like, make it better. Since I'm gonna be an English teacher, too, you know, I won't make a fool of myself . . . [because of "bad grammar"]. And so, I could actually know how to like write and teach my students as well.

Maria talked about Chicano authors she read and how they influenced her writing:

In my Latino/Latina Studies class, I'm reading about other Chicano poets, but I'm also writing in the style that they write in. So like I'm learning about those styles. . . . And just by reading other authors and their ideas and how they write, their styles and everything, then I get to choose whether I want to write like that, or I don't, or whether I want to just have my own styles or not.

She received feedback from one of her Latino/a Studies (LLS) professors that encouraged her to experiment with language and style:

He also said that I should experiment with my words and stuff and use more space, because my poetry was like—it was just simple, I guess, like a lot of poetry. Like in the Chicano poetry, there's a lot of spaces, and he said that I should like incorporate more spaces in my poetry.

Maria provided me with an example of her poetry that I have excerpted below (see Appendix E). In the left column is Maria's poetry, and in the right column are comments

from her professor. Her instructor provided a comment on spacing, like she was talking about above. Additionally, although Maria only incorporated one Spanish word (tequila) in her poem, her professor, who spoke Spanish, was aware that some of Maria's writing may have been examples of code-switching. Buell (2004) cited Hymes's definition of code-switching as "alternate use of two or more language varieties of a language, or even speech styles" (Hymes, 1974, p. 103, as cited in Buell, 2004).

Maria's text	Professor comments
He refused to say the "L" word . . .	Push out this line further
And I pressure you more to say . . .	¿ <i>Que dice aquí?</i> [Translation: What does it say here?]
And no it is not of the tequila	"From"

Figure 1. Excerpt: Poetry from Maria (Appendix E)

While Maria talked about the perspective learned from her Latina/o Studies professor to explore writing, she also projected how that would effect her as a writing teacher:

So I think that that's the way it's gonna help me in the future . . . I could teach my students about other [*styles*]—'cause I think that writing is really important. I think people should write in order to take out their inside feelings, so if I teach them in the way that my professor is teaching me, to write in different styles, then they're gonna learn as well to just like get a style that they want and maybe keep on writing, or maybe not.

Maria did not feel that the university provided the best climate for all students.

When I asked Maria in general about her experience at the university, she replied:

I think that a lot of people feel that this university doesn't cater to our needs as minorities. We do feel a negative environment here. I don't know. I feel that we are very segregated on this campus as minority students and with the majority as well. We're very segregated, which is bad.

During her year and a half at the university, Maria said that she had heard other students remark that they found the university climate to be negative for minority students, “Like a lot of people have experienced racist acts towards them, and I have heard people expressing negative things towards someone.” She told a story about walking with some friends late at night and some individuals threw bottles at them:

It’s hard to say, oh, it was racism, or it’s hard to say it was sexist, or whatever, ‘cause then people say, “You’re just crazy,” “You’re just being paranoid” or whatever. So it’s hard to define that as one of those things. But the fact that it was White males who did those things makes you think that it was that. But you’re not quite sure if it was or not.

Maria also mentioned a student-run publication that is distributed widely on campus. She commented on the publication, “I think that if you wanna make this campus more welcoming and better, why can’t you get rid of newspapers that are like that? I understand that there’s freedom of speech and stuff, but why have hate speech towards other races and women?”

Maria related that her experiences at the university included a feeling that the environment was unwelcoming for her and her experiences, creating a feeling that it was unsafe, or “not catering to the needs of minorities.” She reported that the university did not reflect who she was as a person, creating a sense that, as she put it, “everything is collapsing.” On the other hand, the scholarship program that she was a part of, with its focus on developing leadership and community development skills, benefited Maria in coping in a space that otherwise did not affirm her.

During Maria’s freshman year, she and some friends started a chapter of a national student organization called *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán, MEChA* (Aztlán Chicano Student Movement). According to the organization’s national website, it

is a “student organization that promotes higher education, *cultura*, and *historia*. MEChA was founded on the principles of self-determination for the liberation of our people. We believe that political involvement and education is the avenue for change in our society.”

In describing her work in *MEChA*, Maria mentioned immigration issues first:

We’re working on immigration. There’s a lot of very evil laws that they’re trying to pass the House and the Senate. So we’re trying to get people to vote against them and to call their senators and tell them to vote against them. That’s what we’re trying to do right now.

For Maria, it was important to find contexts in the university that were welcoming and to have the feeling that her professors were approachable. The language environment of the university was similar to what she was used to throughout school in that it did not encourage her use of Spanish. However, she began to have some experiences at the university that were different when she started to take Latino/a Studies courses:

When I started taking Latino/Latina Studies, I just felt like home. . . . I felt like the classes were more social and more like welcoming and stuff for me. And I felt great. Like I felt a connection with the professors, you know? And it’s true. Like you feel at home. You feel that you’re back over there, and you’re learning about your culture, and you’re learning about the history that you never learned in high school. So I think that it is important to have those professors, because they’re the ones that motivate us to be like them.

One of the areas in which Maria felt motivated, welcomed, and invited in her Latino/a Studies courses was in the area of language. Maria felt that it did not matter to her professors that she was bilingual; however, she said that “It matters if I’m taking a Latino/Latina Studies class, then it matters.” One of her professors said, “If you’re gonna be in this class, you’d better make sure that you know some Spanish because this text deals with—they deal with Spanish words, you know? So you’d better make sure that you have knowledge of Spanish.” I asked Maria what she thought about her professor saying that:

I liked the way that he said it. I respect that because it's true, because you know especially 'cause you're gonna be reading stuff that was written by people who are Latino . . . I think that I'm one of those people, at least, you know, you should know a little bit of Spanish . . . I think that they should know like their language . . . it's part of them.

Maria "always used Spanish and English in poetry," but because school had been an English-only environment, her poetry contained no Spanish words. However, the final paper she wrote for one of her Latino/a Studies courses contained four phrases in Spanish (excerpts of the paper, Autobiography, appear in Appendix E): "*las mujeres de mi vida*" (the women in my life), "*las mujeres*" (women) "machistas" (sexist), "*dos*" (two), "I was going to *la universidad para ser el ejemplo de mis hermanas*" (the university to be an example for my sisters), She called it "*un lugar de perdición*" (an "immoral" place).

Excerpt 5: Maria's autobiography paper (Appendix E)

They say that las mujeres have a harder life than men. All women have things deep inside that sometimes it is hard for them to bring up to the table. . . . Through my mother is where I have learn [sic] to be strong and through the other mujeres who have bear [sic] with the painful events that have happened in their lives, and through my experience I have learned to be who I am. . . . I learned that men experienced similar traumatic events in their lives; I learned that men sometimes are machistas because they have learned it through their culture. It is sad to know though, that a lot of people are raising their children in this way. That even women are accepting this and do not change the structure and gender roles in their families.

Dos

As I enter class I think about who I am and where I came from. Sometimes it is hard to find myself between two cultures. Sometimes I am a rebel in one culture and other times I am too submissive in the other. I never find my place in neither place. It is hard when one's mind is always in the middle of two, all the time. I'm still trying to find myself.

When I enter college, I thought I was doing it for myself and my independence from my family. In reality, I was coming to college for my parents, my sisters and for a whole community that needs more professionals in this country. I was going to la universidad para ser el ejemplo de mis hermanas. To show my sisters that a Latina who did not have the privilege to attend one of the best high schools could still be in college, thanks to affirmative action and all the

hard work done in high school. I did not want to be another statistic; I refused to end up pregnant or drop-out school. I refused to be another number in society. . . .

But, college took away my love for school. I thought college was going to be easy, but it was not. I did not come prepared, my teachers in high school did not prepare me to be in one of the top schools in [the state]. In high school, all that administration wants to get rid of you and not really teach you. There are few teachers that actually care about one's education. I thank those few teachers who taught me well.

I crashed between two worlds the one in college and the one back at home. I felt so independent in college and so dependent at home. One allowed me to do whatever I wanted and the other wanted me to respect the house and ask, always, for permission. Who was I? I did not know which person I was. Who was I truly? For the first time I could not find myself. I went through a difficult time, trying to find the real person inside of me. I remember a big fight I had with my mother where she told me that she thought college made people decent and better not alcoholics. She called it un lugar de perdición, and that if that was the reason I went to college, to go out and go wild.

Those words hurt me so much. She did not know what I went through. She did not know that I tried to refuse to be like those white girls people talked about. I did not want to be that because I do not have the privilege of having connections. I did not have the privilege of being in a good high school. I had to work harder in college. I was not here for that she is right, I am here to graduate.

I saw these examples of code-switching as instances in which Maria intentionally incorporated Spanish into her writing because it was a way to express ideas in a manner that she felt was most effective. When the context was welcoming and inviting for her to do so, she incorporated Spanish to enhance her communication.

Diego—"It's a Challenge"

Diego perceived the university context as challenging due to the different perspectives that his peers, teachers, and courses presented that did not coincide with his own experiences. Although he viewed being allowed to write on a wide range of topics as helpful, at the same time he complained that he did not receive much feedback from his

teacher or classmates in his rhetoric course and perceived himself as being “on his own.” He received more helpful feedback and mentoring in his Latina/o Studies courses.

When we discussed his experience at the university, the first thing Diego said was that “being [his] first year this year . . . it was challenging, coming from a working class immigrant community.” He viewed the university context as being quite different from where he was from and what he was used to. He mentioned “the different number of students that are here, as far as like race and ethnicity, just interaction with them. Since [I don’t] come from a background where [I’ve] been exposed to that as much.” In Diego’s scholarship essay, he also referred to the challenging context in which his peers’ perspectives were sometimes angering:

Excerpt 6: Diego’s Scholarship essay (Appendix C)

However, disregarding the contributions communities like mine make to the country, anti-immigrant sentiment is quickly developing and people are blaming undocumented immigrants for the country’s economic crisis. “Nativist” rhetoric expressing anger toward the Latino community in general is circulating making even citizens vulnerable to harassment. The anti immigrant sentiment is so strong that armed vigilante projects to “protect the border” are quickly developing in states along the U.S-Mexico border. This is the type of environment under which proposition HR 4437 was bred. Enforcement only propositions like HR 4437 are unfair to contributing residents and are not the solution to the broken immigration system. Communities like mine are under attack, as I have encountered ignorant opinions on the issue in and out of classroom settings, uninformed students equate and interchangeably use the terms of “illegal aliens” and terrorist.

Diego talked about his rhetoric class as an example of when he had “to understand different perspectives, and different stuff that the students brought up, and also like misconceptions and stuff . . . regarding stereotypes.” He gave the example of when the class read excerpts from Richard Rodriguez’s *Hunger for Memory*, in which the author presents an account of experiences as a child of working-class, immigrant parents, and Diego described himself as coming from a “working-class, immigrant community”:

In my rhetoric class . . . I really like that class. It was a reading that we read, and it was from the book, *Hunger of Memory* by Richard Rodriguez . . . from the students, like their reaction was like it was a success story. . . . And I didn't necessarily think it was a success story. So I think that was like a challenge, that I had no idea, just from not being exposed to them that someone would view that as a success story.

In *Hunger of Memory*, Rodriguez described experiences as a child of working-class, immigrant parents. He presented an account of his experience as Mexican in the U.S. in which he gave up his language and Mexican identity in order to make it in this country. Diego was struggling to maintain his Spanish language background and Mexican identity in contexts that often do not support him, so it was a sad story for him:

I didn't read it all entirely, just a piece from there. I think it's a very sad story. I think as far as the author, the scholar, Richard Rodriguez, he seems like he lost a lot. And I'm not sure how exactly it ends or finishes, but it seems that he'd let go of so many things, and at the end, I don't think he was happy, but I'm not sure. Because from other readings I've heard, he advocates for—he's against bilingual education and stuff like that. So I don't know exactly how it ends, but it wasn't a success story for me.

Diego's account of this story provided a glimpse into how he felt that being in the university context was "challenging," that it was a context where he encountered viewpoints that were different from his own, and had instructors who were insensitive. Aspects of his identity, such as being from an immigrant, working class community, clashed with the dominant perspective in the university context.

Diego mentioned the assignments he had to do for his rhetoric class, emphasizing that he really liked the class. High on his list were assignments that "were left open to studying anything of your interest." Although he enjoyed the class, he also mentioned a comment from the instructor that he did not know how to interpret:

Actually, I got one comment that I didn't know how to take it. It was—I think it started something where he wrote, 'Well, I didn't think you cared about this class.' And so, he just wrote, 'I thought your paper was good.' So he started off

like that. I didn't know what to think. I didn't know if he was just joking around or if it was kind of like something I should've taken more seriously.

Diego commented that he liked the paper because of "the time spent on it," and he felt that he "got really good feedback," from the instructor. However, the teacher's comment regarding his perception that Diego did not care for the class highlighted Diego's sensitivity towards others' perceptions of him, and he felt it was important for him "to change stereotypes." The following quote expresses how Diego felt perceived by his teachers in the past:

Teachers—they wouldn't tell me their initial thoughts of me, but kind of afterwards, they would, like if we were having a discussion or I turned in some homework or something, they'd be like, "Oh, you're really smart. I didn't expect that from you." Stuff like that. Pretty much just telling me they weren't expecting that from me, based on—based on, I guess what I look like or my image.

Because of the experiences Diego had, where he felt that teachers and others judged him negatively based on how he looked or his image, he felt that he wanted to "prove people wrong":

I think it's hard . . . people expect something from me, because whether it's my image or anything like that, so I do try to—I guess I do sometimes have that in mind, that I gotta just break stereotypes and stuff like that, or kind of just prove people wrong.

Diego also mentioned that he wrote an ethnography in his rhetoric class on graffiti artists. Although he liked the class and the topics that were open-ended, at the same time, the open-endedness of the topics proved a challenge. He had so many topics that he wanted to write about that he had a difficult time choosing one:

I struggled with that paper to begin with, because I didn't know exactly what I wanted to do my research paper on. I had like several. 'Cause I was taking my LLS class at that time. And there was like so much that I wanted to do research on, to further understand. And so, I kept on switching it.

Regarding the feedback on his research paper, he related “Pretty much the feedback was kind of on the topic that I chose”:

For every paper we had to let him know what our topic was. And so, I met with him, and he just advised me to kind of—I explained to him what I wanted to cover, and he just advised me that—he told me that an ethnography is very specific.

Diego said that narrowing the topic “definitely helped,” but at the same time he perceived that his instructor did not really understand his topic and wanted him to change it, “I think he just wanted me to change the topic completely. I don’t think he really advised me or understood the topic well himself to kind of guide me into how to specify it.”

Diego mentioned that he felt that it was a common problem in his rhetoric class in general that the instructor was unfamiliar with the topics that interested him and that he wanted to write about:

I think that was a common problem in the class, that oftentimes what I was interested in writing, the instructor wouldn’t have any background on it. And so, he wasn’t able to advise me on how to go from there. I think that definitely was a challenge.

Diego said that he “found it a challenge” when he took “classes outside the Latina/Latino Studies Department” where instructors were unfamiliar with topics he was interested in exploring and writing about. He stated “so I guess writing is challenging here.” In addition to the instructors, he also mentioned that he noticed a similar issue with the other students in the class that made him feel that the experience was challenging and that he was on his own:

Just being in the classroom, you could tell, discussing what our paper is on. And people have nothing to say about your topic, and you know why, ‘cause they’re not really informed or have any background in it. So I think if it were different, if they were, I mean, they would obviously have ideas and stuff to contribute, or probably even help me. So I think it’s a challenge.

He said that when that happens “Pretty much I’m on my own for that particular time.”

Grammar: Struggling to Meet Expectations

All of the participants struggled with grammar. The participants made judgments about their language usage that stemmed from comparisons to notions of “standard English” and “standard Spanish” that they implicitly or explicitly learned throughout their school experiences.

Two of the early arrivers, Jenny and Diego, and one of the later arrivers, Nicolas, talked about Spanish grammar as “proper language,” based on ideological notions of grammatical correctness. Jenny compared the way she spoke Spanish to a “proper” version and denigrated herself by calling it “nonsense”:

I speak it with my mom. I speak it with my dad. But if you tell me to speak Spanish properly, I won’t be able to do it. My mom understands my nonsense in Spanish, because she knows what I’m trying to say. And she corrects me, but if I’m trying to talk to someone who knows Spanish very well, I cannot do it.

Jenny also recounted a story from her high school experience in which she was asked to write a letter in Spanish to her mom, and she judged the writing she produced as “having a lot of mistakes”:

In my senior year I had to write a letter about . . . the way my mom has influenced me . . . and I had to write it in Spanish. I think that’s probably the only thing I have in Spanish . . . and I couldn’t write it in English because my mom . . . was not gonna be able to understand what I was trying to let her know. So I did it in Spanish . . . I had to read it out loud. We all had to read it out loud . . . ‘cause we had like a commencement or something. . . . I had to get other people to like proofread my writing and everything because I had lot of mistakes in Spanish.

Diego reported that he was taking a Spanish class at the university. I did not ask him why he was taking a Spanish class; it seemed that he was taking it in order to fulfill the university’s foreign language requirement: “I took the Spanish proficiency exam. . . . I thought I was . . . gonna be placed out of the foreign language requirement. However, I

was only given 4 hours of Spanish. And so, I still have to take one more class.” He said that the class was difficult because of its focus on “proper” language, which differed from what he spoke in the home and with friends: “It’s hard to—there’s like an emphasis on like proper, I guess, speaking it properly, and different stuff like that.” The experience in Diego’s Spanish class at the university prompted him to reflect on his experiences in bilingual education in elementary school: “I was in a bilingual program until fourth grade. But I think we didn’t really exercise in Spanish. It was more kind of like how to transition the students from Spanish to English, rather than how to supplement Spanish that we know or kind of add onto that as well as English.”

Diego also revealed his critical stance about “proper” language and his complex understanding of language. Early in our conversation he used the word “proper” and then he changed and said “not common” instead, revealing his developing critical consciousness at the university:

I think of it (Spanish) as kind of like one language, different variations of it. And so, I see that Spanish comes from my country, which is Mexico . . . It would be understood, but I guess in some instances, it wouldn’t be proper to some other country. Or not common. I wouldn’t say not proper, but not common . . . I think the Spanish here emphasizes like kind of the European version of it.

Nicolas also referred to grammar in terms of a proper version of language. He spoke about developing Spanish language and literacy in elementary school in Mexico, “We had to learn how to talk right because we had the slang over there. So we had to talk right.” According to Nicolas’s memories about Mexico, writing was used as a means to teach students to use standard Spanish. He and the other students in his class were asked to write summaries of what they read, and the comments they received from their teacher were related to grammar and using standard Spanish:

They would correct your grammar if you wouldn't talk right, if you wouldn't write right. They would write comments like, "This is how you write. This is what it is." . . . For writing, like I said, we didn't have essays, we just had summaries and stuff like that. But we did have to write a lot of things, but that was the main point, the grammar. . . . a lot of accents. The "a," "ñ," the "ll" and the "y," they always confuse it. Grammar and words that you have to use. Periods, commas.

When Diana, a later arriver, explained some of her experiences with writing instruction both in Spanish in Puerto Rico and in English in the U.S., she referred to an assumption that students "should know" about specific aspects of grammar, mechanics, and usage that are expected in academic contexts. She talked about writing in the university in Puerto Rico and focused on the fact that professors assumed that students knew about accents, when in fact many did not:

Many people in the first years of the Spanish class in the university have problems with the accents . . . many of them don't write the accents. When we interchange the paper, okay, and the professor, "You are in your first year in the university and you don't know the rules of accents!" . . . That is a problem, because when we began the college, the professors think that you have some knowledge to how write. But really, no . . . When you go to a university, a professor has to begin to teach.

Diana also commented on her view that English language learners in the U.S. should know grammatical rules, but often do not. Talking about her ESL writing class she said, "The grammar is very general. . . . Because we're supposed to know the rules, but I feel we should ask the professor because the professor communicates with us . . . When I have questions, okay . . . she explains." Diana said that she would like to have more information about grammar in her ESL writing class, but she understood that the teacher did not do that because "She supposes that we know that."

This view of "proper language" as it relates to grammar and mechanics usage of writing that is expected in academic contexts was also part of all three of the early arrivers views of writing in English. When asked how she would describe a good writer,

Jenny replied, “A good writer, I believe, is when someone uses proper commas, semicolons, and all the proper punctuations in their writing. I think that’s what makes a good writer.” Jenny also said that she differentiates between the writing she does with friends and the writing she does in school, indicating that it would be inappropriate to use “proper” language in writing to friends or family:

I would write to her like I was a friend, you know, using the short sentences, really short stuff you know. Yeah. And I don’t think I’ve ever written to someone that was my friend very proper. Because then you’ll get teased about it. ‘Oh! I’m sorry, Miss Proper.’ You know?

Jenny was aware that her high school did not provide a high quality education, which she felt related to her knowledge of standard grammar:

I went to a school that was like, “Just do your work, and you’ll get an A. I don’t care.” You know? Like they really didn’t put effort on helping us, you know, with our writing. And as well as my other roommate, who—she went to a regular school, like a public school, and they really didn’t teach us much about grammar. Now if I thought I had bad grammar; she has a horrible grammar.

Like Jenny, another early arriver, Diego, said that he did not learn certain things about grammar in high school that he felt his peers at the university had learned. He inferred that some of his lack of knowledge may have stemmed from middle school, where he acted out. The topic seemed difficult for him to discuss, and his narration contained a lot of false starts, hesitations, and pauses:

As far as like the level of it, kinda like my vocabulary and kind of my grammatical usage and stuff like that . . . it’s evolving . . . I guess I never learned . . . a lot of grammar . . . just like breaking down like how a sentence is . . . like this is an adjective, this word is a noun, stuff like that . . . I have the basic understanding of that, but not . . . as much as my peers here at the university. . . . I just have that basic understanding of stuff like that. And I’m able to apply it and get by with it, but like I don’t know how important that is. I’m sure it’s important. I know that’s something that I did miss during . . . middle school .

Grammar was also an ongoing issue of frustration for Maria. She consistently received feedback from instructors that she needed “to work on her grammar.” She was looking for a grammar class to take and could not find one, and she asked me if I could recommend a grammar class to take at the university:

My teacher, he also told me that . . . I need to work on my grammar . . . I don’t know how to work on that. I should read or something. ‘Cause one time I remember asking my adviser about a class . . . but she said that there’s no grammar classes, that my English classes will eventually teach me how to write well. But I don’t think so, ‘cause I don’t think they have the time right now to actually be correcting that, you know?

Two of the participants, one early and one later arriver, discussed some issues related to grammar and transfer in their English writing. Jenny, an early arriver, described some of the grammatical issues that were pointed out in her writing:

Like papers, that I get a lot with “eds” written on the top, like cross this out because this doesn’t belong here, it’s supposed to be “is” and not “are” and things like that. So I get that a lot in my paper.

Jenny received feedback on her writing like what she described above, but she did not receive assistance in how to address such grammatical issues in her writing. Jenny explained her writing in part by saying that it was related to her speaking Spanish, “Me being Spanish is like certain words just stay the same, whether you’re talking about the past, the future, or the present, some certain words stay the same.”

I read a rhetoric paper analyzing a photograph from the Iraq War that Cristina, a later arriver, wrote as well as a one of her African-American studies papers. I was struck that the rhetoric paper contained much fewer second language issues, while the African-American studies paper contained substantially more. Table 13 shows a comparison of the two papers (the papers are reproduced in Appendix A), with information about the length and the type and number of second language/transfer issues. Her African-

American studies paper is one-third longer than the rhetoric paper, but it contains almost four times more transfer/second language issues. On average, the rhetoric paper contains roughly 1 transfer feature per 330 words, while the African American Studies paper contains, on average, roughly 1 transfer feature per 100 words.

Table 13

Transfer and Second Language Issues in Two of Cristina's Course Papers

Issues	Rhetoric	African American Studies
Number of words	1,314	1,744
Total # of transfer/second language features	4	18
Spanish language transfer: Vocabulary	(1) . . . we may <i>question ourselves</i> why there is [sic] a lack of photographs . . . (<i>instead of "ask ourselves," or "wonder"</i>)	0
Spanish language transfer: Grammar	Prepositions = 3 (2) pouring water <i>in</i> his mouth (<i>instead of "into"</i>) (3) <i>On</i> this picture (<i>instead of "in"</i>) (4) being <i>in</i> war (<i>instead of "at war"</i>)	Prepositions = 13 (1: Preposition) African American Studies <i>on</i> (<i>instead of at</i>) this school (2: Prep.) familiar with this unit <i>in</i> (<i>instead of "on</i>) campus (3: Prep.) <i>in</i> their campus (<i>instead of "on</i>) (4: Prep.) strong opinions <i>on</i> it (<i>instead of "about"</i>) (5: Prep.) to have <i>in</i> this campus (<i>instead of "on"</i>) (6: Prep.) program <i>in</i> UIUC (<i>instead of "at"</i>) (7: Prep.) a requirement <i>in</i> this campus (<i>instead of "on"</i>) (8: Prep.) a relatively new program <i>in</i> this campus (<i>instead of "on"</i>)

(table continues)

Table 13 (*continued*)

Rhetoric	African American Studies
	(9: Prep.) to have <i>in</i> a campus (<i>instead of "on"</i>)
	(10: Prep.) focus specifically <i>in</i> African Americans (<i>instead of "on"</i>)
	(11: Prep.) this program <i>in</i> our campus (<i>instead of "on"</i>)
	(12: Prep.) I was unaware <i>about</i> (<i>instead of "of"</i>)
	(13: Prep.) to have <i>in</i> this campus (<i>instead of "on"</i>)
	correction) = 1 Articles = 4
	definite article with nouns/noun phrases used in a general sense
	(1: Article) an asset for <i>the</i> (<i>no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense</i>) student's knowledge
	(2: Art.) validates <i>the</i> African American History (<i>instead of no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense</i>)
	(3: Art.) to explore all <i>the</i> different cultures (<i>instead of no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense</i>)
	(4: Art.) for all <i>the</i> students (<i>instead of no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense</i>)
	Noun modifier (over correction)
	(b) there was a <i>slavery period</i> (<i>instead of "period of slavery"; noun modifier over-correction</i>) of "period

For the rhetoric paper, Cristina wrote drafts and discussed them with her teacher and friends, which she often did in an attempt to gain advice on grammar and other issues in her writing. For the African American studies paper, Cristina did not have time to

write drafts of the paper and discuss them with her teacher or friends. When she was discussing her African American studies paper with me before she turned it in, she commented, “I haven’t started it. . . . But the thing is, like, I have to do it today or tomorrow. Like, I don’t think anyone has time.” Since she did not have time and she had to turn the paper in soon, she did not have a chance to focus on editing the paper in detail as she did for her rhetoric paper.

Support Networks for Help with Editing and Proofing

Three of the participants, two later arrivers (Diana and Nicolas) and one early arriver (Maria) talked very little about support networks. Diana’s main support network was her husband, “In the grammar, sometimes I tell with my husband to help me to see my grammar mistake. . . . Because his English is more . . . than mine . . . Yeah, he’s also from Puerto Rico.”

The only person Nicolas mentioned as a support person that he drew on in his writing was his rhetoric teacher. He said, “I have to ask my teacher” nine times during our interviews, and she told him what she thought he should do. Nicolas’s reliance on his teacher makes sense in light of his past experiences and view of writing as a formulaic activity.

When Maria described her academic work and her writing process, she revealed that she tended to work independently, in contrast to the other participants who described more of an academic support network that they relied on when completing assignments and papers. Maria said that when she first got to the university it was hard to deal with independence. Because she received a scholarship and had a mentor, she had people helping her to manage time and complete assignments. When she said, “I think that I

could do more by myself. You know, I don't need people to be pushing me you know to do things," it sounded like she was responding to that:

I think that I should do it by myself. It's me who's . . . gonna be teaching . . . no one is gonna be the one telling me later on in my life . . . how to write a lesson plan or whatever, you know, like I have to do it all myself, you know. And I need to like get used to it.

I sensed that Maria had experienced situations where she perceived that teachers were less than helpful, for example, her high school AP English teacher who changed her writing rather than teaching her how to analyze it. Such situations may have encouraged Maria to develop strategies to accomplish tasks on her own and not to look for academic support networks. For example, in her English class at the university, "A lot of people in my class already know about these novels and stuff, and I don't, because I was never exposed to them." In these situations, she said, "It's more work for me, 'cause I need to research a little bit so I could know the background. And I had to put extra effort to actually understand the novel and stuff."

She also gave an example from her British literature class. She did not like British literature because it was difficult, and she did independent research to understand it:

I don't really like British literature. I think I would like it if I understood the text, if I had previously worked with those types in high school . . . I would like it . . . I get frustrated when I read it, and I'm like, "Oh, I just don't understand this language." So in order to understand that, I need to go online and research the words or research on the website . . . then I get a better understanding of what the text means . . . But it's frustrating.

Regarding the writing instruction in her Latina/o Studies and English courses, Maria said that she thought it would be helpful if the instructors provided more guidance on what they were looking for in the papers and how to complete the assignments. At the same

time, however, she could understand why instructors would expect students to be able to complete assignments with little guidance:

I think that it is expected from us to know already . . . whatever we're supposed to do, 'cause we are sophomores in college . . . at the same time, like a lot of people . . . they didn't have the same, you know, information before. . . . Some people know more than others, and I guess sometimes teachers don't have that in their mind.

Three of the participants, one later arriver (Cristina) and two early arrivers (Diego and Jenny), talked about rich support networks that they drew on for their writing. In Cristina's accounts of her experiences with writing at the university, she often referred to a rich support network of friends that she relied on when writing papers, seeking a friend to act as a cultural informant when she did not have the background knowledge that she assumed was held by all students. This was the case with the first African American studies paper in which she was asked to write what she knew about the African American community. She felt that she did possess the requisite cultural knowledge to write the paper because she was born and spent part of her childhood in Mexico, which will be discussed more in the section below, entitled "connecting safely and taking risks."

In addition to cultural issues, Cristina drew support from friends for help with writing issues in general:

I think it, and then I can't write it . . . or I don't think it, it doesn't sound nice or something, or it doesn't flow. And it's hard to put it out together. . . . Like I'll write it and then I try to fix it and then I have people edit it for me.

In this situation, one of the people she went to was a friend who lived in another part of the state with whom she communicated electronically:

My friend, he's really good at writing, so I ask him. . . . I sent it to him through email and he helps me out . . . and then I talk to him on the phone . . . I talk to him on IM too, but it's easier to do it over the phone because he can say exactly what he wants . . . After I write my papers, he edits them and he . . . tells me what to do

differently and then I do it and send it back to him again and he'll fix those kinds of things.

She mentioned that the last paper she sent to her friend was “the one I turned in for Rhetoric” (in Appendix A).

I specifically asked Cristina if she had heard of the university writing center. She said that she had, but she did not use it because she heard that it would not be helpful because they did not provide the assistance that she needed:

I've heard that they just like, they don't really help you, they just tell you 'Fix it,' that kind of thing. It's not like they would give me words or how to get started or something . . . because I don't think that they are allowed to tell you how to like do it . . . like examples of like how to start a paper, what should I write about, that kind of thing.

Jenny also talked about the writing center as a place that she would not want to go to. Her main concern was that a stranger would evaluate her writing in a negative and personal way:

We can go to the writing center, but I actually have never been there. I think I'll feel weird, because wow, somebody's reading your paper and they are probably making comments about that, you know, you really write ugly, you know, this is making no sense! So, I feel like people that are very close to me, they'll tell me like, 'Okay, look, this is what you need to improve.' But just getting my paper reviewed by somebody that I don't know, it's like oh, they're probably going to think that I'm the worst writer, and things like that are coming to your head.

As Jenny pointed out, it was important to work with someone close to her, someone who she knew would not judge her or her writing, someone she could trust. Instead of the writing center, Jenny relied on her roommate for support, “My roommate proofreads my stuff because she is a genius in writing. She's the one that—she's my writing center.” In describing the kind of assistance she provided, Jenny said:

She points out more about grammar and about how sentences are structured. That's pretty much it. I think sometimes she tells me like, 'Well, I don't really understand this. Can you expand it a little bit more?' or whatever. So she tells me.

Jenny brought up the topic of ethnicity when she relayed what she would say to her roommate, “Okay, can you help us out here, ‘cause we’re stuck. ‘Cause we’re both Hispanic. All three of us, we’re all Hispanic.” She also pointed out that the roommate that helped her went to a better high school than she and her other roommate did, which is why she could help them, “We’re all Hispanic, but she went to, you could say, a rich, private school or whatever. Her schedule was really like college, the schedule, you know.”

Cristina also revealed that she and her roommate often worked together when they wrote papers. She talked about this in relation to coming up with words when she knew the word in Spanish but couldn’t think of it in English, and that it was especially useful to work with her roommate because she was also bilingual:

Sometimes I’ll know the word in English and I won’t know it in Spanish and sometimes I’ll know it in Spanish and not in English . . . I have to think about it and then it comes. . . . I’ll be writing and I’ll be like, how do you say this? . . . I’ll ask my roommate because she’s bilingual too.

Diego had to find people to talk with to help him explore topics. As Diego pointed out, his rhetoric class often presented situations in which he felt on his own because the people around him did not have a background or knowledge of what he was interested in. When talking about what he would do in those times he said, “I just try to refer to people that do, that would have just a little background in it, which always helps.” He said he would go to his sisters to discuss topics. At the time of the study one of his sisters was further along in her studies at the same university, and his other sister had graduated 2 years previously. He said that he gave his writing to his sisters to read and they frequently told him, “You weren’t clear. Go back.”

Diego mentioned that his sisters were particularly helpful because they picked up on it when he was transferring Spanish words to English: “I do remember instances where my sisters told me, you know, ‘That’s not really what you’re saying,’ and it’s in relation to me trying to kind of apply Spanish phrases and stuff like that to my writing in English.” Diego described a rich network of people whom he could rely on for guidance. In addition to his sisters, he mentioned teachers from his home community, professors at the university in Latino/a Studies, as well as graduate students: “. . . my teachers back at home. Professors actually here that I’ve gotten to meet fortunately. Graduate students that I know. So that’s kind of what I rely on for sort of guidance.”

Speaking Spanish: Spanish Is a Part of Life at the University

All of the participants said that they spoke Spanish to some extent in their lives at the university. The later arrivers, in particular Nicolas, saw the university as an English context and downplayed their use of Spanish, while earlier arrivers, in particular Maria, sought out opportunities to use Spanish.

During Cristina’s first year at the university, she realized that she was “talking more in Spanish now than I did before I came here. Like with friends and stuff, but not more than English.” When thinking about why this was the case she said:

Maybe because I have more . . . Latino friends here than I had back at home that actually speak the language and when I’m with Latinos it’s not like, it’s occasional, that was the reason that I wouldn’t talk in Spanish back at home, because it was everywhere. And here it’s usually just like, maybe just us, like Latinos, none of the English-speaking people.

Cristina emphasized the importance of speaking Spanish and indicated that she spoke it more with friends at the university than she used to. She had opportunities to be around Latinos and speak Spanish at the university because she was a member of a Latino

student organization, just as she was in high school: “I would speak it at home and now I speak it with my friends, because I don’t speak with my parents that much . . . but I speak it with friends, so it kind of evens out.” Cristina said, “I’m glad to know more than one language,” and she liked speaking Spanish more with her friends because “That way I practice it, that’s my native language, I should be able to speak it.”

Nicolas spoke little about speaking Spanish at the university. Unlike Cristina, he was not a member of a Latino student organization; rather, he played on a university intramural soccer team, continuing an interest in soccer from his high school days. Nicolas did say, though, that he was still learning English. He also said that it would be helpful if he had someone who spoke Spanish, and he talked about what it would be like if his teacher spoke Spanish:

I can relate more to a teacher like if she speaks Spanish . . . it’d be more like, okay, I got the confidence to talk to you more like this, you know, like the way I understand it more. Because I have a question in English, but . . . I’d just explain it to you in Spanish. You know, just ‘cause of the fact that I have an accent, sometimes it’s hard for . . . other people to understand what I’m saying. Even if it’s just little things, you know. Maybe if I could explain it to you in Spanish, you would definitely understand it. . . . it would give me more confidence.

Diana talked about wanting to perfect and practice her Spanish. She was majoring in Spanish and was taking both a Spanish and an English class. She was often frustrated with her Spanish class, as more English than Spanish was spoken. Her Spanish class was important to her because she used both languages:

Something important to me is the Spanish class because if I compare my Spanish class with the English class, in the Spanish class, I hear both languages: the English and the Spanish. And also, I need to read in English in the Spanish class. And in Puerto Rico, the English class is always in English, and the Spanish class is only the Spanish class.

Jenny sometimes felt it was difficult to have to always speak English and rarely have the opportunity to speak Spanish at the university:

So it's a little hard, but it's not that hard, because I'm used to talking so much English now, that I could say my Spanish is not that strong anymore. And that's pretty much, how the difference is in me talking to teachers especially, you know? Yeah.

Jenny, an early arriver, remarked that as she spoke more English at the university, her Spanish was becoming less and less prominent, but she felt it was important to take Spanish for heritage speakers at the university in order to be able to improve Spanish vocabulary and become fully bilingual:

The fact that I speak more English now, it's like my Spanish is fading away. And knowing that I have to take Spanish, because if I want a better job . . . I will be able to talk. And knowing that my vocabulary is increasing and not always using the same word, you know, people will be like, "Okay, this person knows how to communicate to other people in so many different ways." . . . I mean, well, not Spanish, but English, you know? . . . I'm so used to English that I don't think about Spanish anymore.

When Diego, an early arriver, considered his use of Spanish at the university, he said, "I usually try to use it often whenever possible."

At the university, Maria, an early arriver, thought of herself as bilingual:

I use Spanish when I'm with my parents . . . it's actually half and half, Spanish and English. I use Spanish with . . . some of my friends. I think I use Spanish a lot, you know, but it's more like Spanglish than Spanish, you know, like both of them together.

Maria saw that she was able to accomplish some tasks with greater ease in each language. For example, she compared her current speaking, reading, and writing in English and Spanish, "When it comes to speaking English, I feel less confident than when I speak in Spanish. So, it's just really confusing." Maria expressed that she was both bilingual and biliterate and that Spanish and English each influenced the other. She engaged in various

practices in each language and to varying degrees in each of the languages. She commented on the linguistic environment at the university, saying that being bilingual was an important part of her life in her community and outside the university:

I mean, outside of my community, I could speak to anyone basically—speak Spanish or English. But here at the university, there's not really a lot of—like I don't think I really hear a lot of Spanish going on. I guess only when you're in the Latina/o Cultural Center (pseudonym) or whatever, you know, other cultural places, or like with my friends.

She said, "I don't think it matters to the professors" that she is bilingual:

I don't think that in college like it really—unless I'm taking a Latino/a Studies or if I'm taking Spanish classes, then it matters, you know? . . . But other than that, I don't think it really matters if I speak Spanish, because the other classes really do not like acknowledge that, you know? Like except for some English classes that have texts that deal with . . . the Chicano Movement. . . . But other than that, everything is just English. . . . Like I don't think that they really focus on other languages or whatever.

Although Maria sensed her bilingualism did not matter to the university, it did matter to her. "It matters outside of college, in my community. . . . I'm not saying it doesn't matter to me, but I don't think it matters to like the professor, you know?"

Students Consider Themselves Bilingual but not Biliterate

Diego considered himself to be bilingual. He explained his definition of bilingual in the following way:

I guess to me the definition of bilingual is to be fluent—well, I always thought about it, just fluent in speaking. . . . So I always thought of myself as bilingual, I always had to use it, as far as oral, speaking it. I never really . . . read it so much.

I asked Jenny what it meant for her to be bilingual:

I think it's very important. I have an advantage for me being bilingual because I am able to communicate in two different languages, you know, to different people or whatever. So that gives me an advantage. That gives me an advantage if I ever want a job, knowing that I'm Spanish, and knowing that I can communicate to more people and not just only people that speak English. That makes me like a better person or a better communicator. That's my advantage of being bilingual.

Like Diego, Jenny also saw herself as bilingual but not biliterate:

I can talk Spanish and I could read Spanish, but I cannot write it. . . . Spanish has a lot to deal with apostrophes, it has a very variety of things that you have to deal with and I don't think that I know how to put, like a sentence structure in Spanish, you know.

Jenny's mom tried to get her to speak Spanish and learn to write in Spanish:

My mom is the type of person that she's like you're supposed to know Spanish and English. Spanish is your first language and you're supposed to be perfect at it, and you're supposed to be perfect at both . . . she would tell me like "Write this, how do you write this?" and I would write it and it would be the wrong way and she was like "No, you missed this, or you missed that, you need to add this." So I'm not a really good writer in Spanish.

Although Jenny and Diego reported that they did not consider themselves biliterate, both of them revealed that they did write in Spanish. For example, Jenny shared that she wrote a letter in Spanish for her mother. Diego, on the other hand, showed me some of his Spanish writing that he did for a student organization. The piece he showed me was a letter of support that he wrote on behalf of his student organization to send to Elvira Arellano, who was an undocumented immigrant living in the U.S. Many groups, including Diego's student group, saw Arellano's situation as an important civil rights case and supported her.

Excerpt 7: Diego's letter in Spanish to Elvira Arellano (Appendix C)
Hola Senora Elvira Arellano,

La razón de esta carta es para brindarle apoyo a usted y a su hijo Saulito. Nosotros somos una organización basada en la Universidad del Estado (pseudonym). La Organización (pseudonym) esta compuesta de estudiantes Como usted, nos dedicamos a organizar sobre el tema de inmigración tratamos de proveer servicios comunitarios o apoya a legislaciones comprensivas. Su historia nos a inspirado para continuar a pelear contra las injusticias que nos afectan a nosotros los inmigrantes. Sabemos y entendemos que necesitamos una reforma justa para todos y daremos todo lo de nuestra parte para poner nuestro esfuerzo.

Por ultimo nos gustaría ofrecerle más que una simple carta de apoyo, queremos extenderle la mano con cosas que usted necesite. Por favor con confianza déjenos saber con que y como le podemos ayudar. Le queremos brindar animo y esperansa asta que se nos haga justicia.

Nuestro mas sincero respeto y admiración.

La Organizacion Latina (pseudonym)

Translation:

Hello Mrs. Elvira Arellano,

The reason for this letter is to offer support to you and your son Saulito. We are an organization based at the State University (pseudonym). The Organization (pseudonym) is made up of students Like you, we work to organize around the theme of immigration we try to provide community services or support to comprehensive legislation. Your story has inspired us to continue to fight against injustices that affect immigrants. We know and understand that we need fair reform for everyone and we're doing everything we can to put effort into that.

Finally, we would like to offer you more than a simple letter of support, we want to extend a hand to you with things that you may need. Please do not hesitate to let us know with what and how we can help you. We want to offer you encouragement and hope until we get justice.

With our most sincere respect and admiration,

The Latino/a Organization (pseudonym)

"Language Catching"

Diana, Jenny, and Nicolas spoke about times they started to say something in Spanish, and then stopped themselves because their awareness of the context told them that they were supposed to use English. So they were, in effect, internalizing a mechanism to continue the subtraction process, to participate in the process of maintaining the dominance of English. A conversation with Diana that illustrates this went as follows:

Diana: I begin to write “*Maria Siempre*” because that was the words related with language.

Jason: Okay.

Diana: So I write *en español*, and when I see that I write *en español*, I catch that was in my English class, so I began to translate in English, “variation,” “syntax,” “variation,” “Spanish,” “English,” “Spanish,” and continue my brainstorming about it.

Jason: Why did you decide to translate it?

Diana: Because I am not sure if the teacher wants us to bring the paper.

Jason: Oh, okay, ‘cause if it was just for you, then it would be okay?

Diana: Yeah. Yes, I don’t have any problem to write in whatever, two languages. But if the professor is looking at it, she maybe don’t understand what I am writing.

Code-switching

In general, the later arrivers developed a monolingual view of language and saw certain kinds of code-switching as something to avoid, while the early arrivers developed a bilingual view of language and viewed code-switching positively. This section highlights these differing views of language and uses of code-switching.

Cristina used no Spanish in the interviews, nor in any of her writing. She considered her vocabulary to be limited, and she related that to her experiences:

I’ll be writing and I’ll know the word in Spanish, but I won’t know it in English. Like I know what I want to say, because I don’t have that big of a vocabulary in English either. I think the reason that I don’t have a big vocabulary in English nor Spanish is because of the change, the dramatic change I went through from English to Spanish like in one day.

Diana took classes in English and Spanish at the university, writing papers in both languages, and both were a part of her daily life. She used Spanish often throughout our conversations. She most often used Spanish when she had difficulty expressing

something in English, or did not know an English word. For example, in talking about a paper she was writing she said, “I forgot to ask how they collect the data, if the data was—if they used interview method or *grabación* (recording) of the data,” or when talking about her sister, “She is studying *actuación*” (acting).

Nicolas viewed Spanish and English as completely separate and not influencing each other. He said “It’s like a switch, you know, English or Spanish . . . that’s how I see it.” When talking about reading in English, he said, “Like you read something and you’re like everything is in English. Read it in English. And Spanish has nothing to do with it.”

Despite his view that the languages were separate, Nicolas mentioned that he would switch between the two when he spoke with his cousin:

My cousin, he’s one of my real close friends. We talk a lot on the phone. I’ll be saying something in Spanish, and I finish it in English, too. Like when I’m writing every sentence, . . . I have difficulty finishing something that I’m trying to say in English, and I just finish it in Spanish. It’s easier.

Nicolas rarely code-switched during our conversations. However, when he did, it was in relating a story that happened in Spanish. For example, he told the story of crossing the border from México to the United States and the Border Patrol told his mother, “*el niño tiene que aprender inglés*” (The child has to learn English).

Nicolas said that he used online communication frequently and tried to maintain a separation in that context as well. He said that he was generally aware of who he was talking to, “If I was talking to somebody who knew English, I would talk only in English. If I was talking with somebody who knows Spanish, I would just be talking in Spanish.” However, he said that he was not always able to stick to just one language in that context, “I write half of a sentence in English, and finish it in Spanish.”

Nicolas said that online communication was “like jogging, you gotta do it fast” whereas writing a paper for a class was “like a transition. It’s like you’re focused.” He explained that when he communicated on Instant Messenger (IM) he would write in a different way that was not appropriate for academic essays, and sometimes he inadvertently used IM language in his academic writing:

Instead of “because,” you just put ‘cause, you know? . . . And I guess you get used to it, because when I was writing today, my teacher said, you know, “It’s not ‘cause, it’s because.” I’m like, “Oh, I forgot about that” you know? So it’s kind of a habit that you can’t quit.

Nicolas explained that when he used IM, he used oral language and abbreviations in English, and he also used Spanish. I asked him if he ever used Spanish in his academic writing:

No, no, not in formal papers, never . . . That would be terrible because I’d feel like I’m not focusing enough . . . But I think I have solid English . . . that has never happened. . . . I always write in English, because the person only knows English, you know? . . . And, well, yeah, I wouldn’t do it even if the person is Spanish.

I was struck by the fact that Nicolas was so vehement that he would never use Spanish in an academic paper and that he thought it would be “terrible.” He did not have the same negative reaction when he talked about using English oral language that is considered inappropriate for academic papers. It was noteworthy that he said that even if the person spoke Spanish, he would not use any Spanish.

Insofar as the early arrivers’ views and experiences, Maria’s viewpoints of the relationship between English and Spanish were different from Nicolas’s. She said that she felt more confident speaking Spanish than English, but was more confident writing in English:

It’s just really like difficult and confusing and complex because like I think that I can write better in English than I can write in Spanish, and that’s just because I

don't know the Spanish accents, you know? But, I mean, I do know how to write in Spanish.

Maria was aware that she drew on Spanish as she read in English:

When I read in English and I don't—like I don't understand, like I try to—like I can't understand what the sentence is about or whatever, I try translating, and then I translate it to Spanish, and then, I get a better understanding. So that's what I do.

In terms of writing, Maria said that she most often thought in English as she wrote in

English:

And when I write, like most of the time I think in English when I'm writing in English. But sometimes I have to translate words. It's when I translate words that I start thinking in the other language. I have to find the correct word.

Like Nicolas, Maria said that she would switch between English and Spanish when she used Instant Messenger. Unlike Nicolas, she felt that it was a positive thing: “In instant messaging, yeah, like I go back and forth, Spanish and English. So I could have like a long conversation in English, and then, I could just switch to Spanish, which is useful.” Maria's view of code-switching was that she would say what she wanted to communicate in whichever language she felt expressed it better:

I guess just when I can express an idea better in Spanish, you know, I just say it in Spanish . . . But it just comes naturally, like just talking, like speaking English and then, you know, a word in Spanish just comes out. I guess I'm just used to it.

When I asked Maria if she ever wrote in Spanish she said, “No, I don't really write—well, in poetry, yeah, I do because I incorporate Spanish and English, both Spanish and English in my poems sometimes.”

Diego felt that speaking Spanish had an influence on his writing in English:

“There's like some words . . . I would use in Spanish to express something . . . they get more to the point in Spanish. I try to translate that into English, and it doesn't have the same effect.”

Diego explained that he felt that speaking Spanish and being bilingual influences his writing in English. He mentioned an article he read in a class:

I always felt that sometimes I can say things better in either language. And I try to translate it, and it doesn't come out the way that it should. . . . But this article was talking about tropicalizing English, kind of how we use like our Spanish kind of like, I guess, idioms to try to say 'em in English and kind of the effect they have, and stuff like that. So I think it's definitely—from experience, I have tried that.

Diego also commented on that article in an essay he wrote for a Latina/o Studies course:

Excerpt 8: Diego's Latina/o Studies paper on Latino identity formation
This article argues that tropicalizing English is not a sign of defective English rather the formation and empowerment of a new identity through language.

Diego related a story in which he used Spanish words in his writing in English and a writing center consultant pointed it out:

I went to the writing center, and it was the person that helps you. And she was from Spain, and I wrote like a particular sentence. She said, "Well, you know this isn't an actual word in English." And then, she gave me like an alternative . . . the other word she gave me really worked in the sentence. So she kind of understood what I was saying, 'cause she had that Spanish background. . . . Yeah, so that's definitely something that influences, so that's a particular time where it was evident that my Spanish was an influence when I was writing in English.

Jenny also talked about using Spanish as a resource in talking with Spanish-speaking friends and teachers before coming to the university. At the university, she said that she did not really have that advantage because she was "surrounded by English—English all over." Jenny talked about her professors at the university and her effort in making sure she expressed herself in English so they would understand her:

Most of my professors, all they do is speak English, so in case I want to say something, I have to think before I say it. And it's like, okay, so how am I gonna say this to him, to understand me? Because I can understand myself, but how can I make him understand what I'm trying to let him know?

Her challenge played out during one of our conversations about a paper she had written for a community health class about folk remedies. She spoke about an example in

the Mexican community and had difficulty coming up with the English word, so she used the Spanish word “*brujería*” [witchcraft]. Jenny also recounted her use of Spanish and English with friends:

In high school . . . I had friends who spoke Spanish. So it didn’t matter if I was talking Spanish and English at the same time, they would understand. Here, sometimes I will forget and I’ll be like, oh, yes, I keep forgetting you don’t talk Spanish or something. . . . I know how to say it in Spanish, but you’re not gonna understand me, so just forget about it . . . my roommate speaks Spanish, so it doesn’t matter. My friends that I have, that I always spend time with, they speak Spanish. . . . When I want to call some of my other friends, like classmates . . . I gotta think twice, so I won’t be like speaking Spanish to them, and they’ll be like, “Excuse me. What are you talking about?”

Academic Writing at the University: Identity and Transformation

This section presents findings about participants’ experiences with academic writing at the university as related to their past experiences and identities. The findings illustrate how the participants’ identities as writers were transformed in the context of the university. The findings are organized by themes: connecting politically and healing, connecting safely and taking risks, and connecting personally and overcoming.

Connecting Politically and Healing

Connecting politically and healing is a theme that refers to Diego and Maria’s tendency to write about their Mexican and immigrant identities, and their drive to gain confidence in writing about these issues. They connected to writing politically by referencing the Latino community and activism. They experienced a sense of invalidation and indignation due to some of their experiences before the university, which led me to view their writing practices as seeking healing. They exercised agency and showed

development as writers by interacting during discussions of writing, and including aspects of their identities in writing, in ways that asserted and validated their experiences.

Diego—Text based conversation—Appropriateness. During our first text-based interview, Diego discussed a statement of purpose which he was writing for a summer internship program that focused on issues of inequality and social policy. His statement contained rich descriptions of the community he was from. In addition, his writing invoked the responsibility he felt toward his community:

Excerpt 9: Diego's scholarship essay (Appendix C)

My home is Center Town (pseudonym), the largest Mexican immigrant community in the state. My community's business district ranks the second highest generator of money [in the state]. The blood, sweat, and tears of hard-working residents like my parents have built and sustained the community I live in. At one end of our business district stands a huge arch welcoming new comers, to a safe space for immigrants. Cultural representations of Mexican national symbols are vividly painted on brick walls of local corner stores and barbershops. Its authentic Mexican restaurants, taquerias, and panaderias attract visitors from across the city. Without a doubt that my community is a cultural and economic power house that contributes the nation. . . . I am proud to say that as an undergrad I have committed myself a pro-immigrant rights student organization on campus. . . . It is my responsibility to serve my community at the undergraduate level and after graduation.

Diego's references evoked his pride in his identity as a member of that "working class, immigrant community." At the same time, he demonstrated little confidence in his writing. He reflected that his paper was "just lists of words and sentences . . . they don't necessarily make sense . . . it might be repetitive." Because I sensed in Diego a hesitance in discussing his writing, I was especially careful to be encouraging in my response, "Your ideas come through. . . . So I think that's what you're getting at here. You're getting some other very unique aspects of who you are down here that you'll be able to incorporate into your essay." He was unsure about what is appropriate in academic writing, and when it's appropriate to include personal information:

Sometimes I wonder whether things are appropriate, 'cause I know, in my papers at least, I've noticed people point out, when I write about my community, somehow mention it, or just an experience. I don't know if it's always appropriate, kind of to personalize. I'm assuming for this that it is because it kind of asks you who you are.

His reaction indicated a lack of experience in having important parts of his identity validated in writing contexts.

"Double thinking" was a phrase that Diego used during our discussion of his essay for the summer internship program and one that he used in responding to my first reaction to his paper:

Definitely [it's] helping right now, trying to, like I said, well, when I write—I kind of double think a lot, and it takes me a long time because I'm hesitant and always questioning whether it should be included in the paper and whether it's necessary or not. It's reassuring.

Diego's use of the phrase "double think" could be linked to his discussion of W. E. B. Dubois's notion of "double consciousness" in a paper he wrote for Latina/o Studies:

Excerpt 10: Diego's Latina/o Studies Paper

"double consciousness" can be used to assist the understanding of the Latino identity formation through the self and other process. Double consciousness helps the identity formation process by assisting the self and othering process in differentiating between oneself as a distinction or part of others.

Diego's account referred to issues that have had an impact on him: (a) writing about his own reality (b) having his reality questioned (c) being uncertain as a result, and (d) knowing that discussion can be healing. Our discussion started with his referring to part of his own reality, the community where he had grown up. He then referred to reactions he received when he mentioned his community, but he quickly mentioned that "people point out" when he wrote about his community or an experience from it. In retrospect, I interpreted his quiet tone, the slowness of his speech, and his closed mannerisms as indicative of sad or vulnerable emotions at that time. When he said, "It's

helping right now,” “It’s reassuring,” referring to my encouragement, I thought he was pointing to the positive benefits he experienced when he felt that his writing was accepted and respected.

Diego—Looking backward. How is “double thinking” connected with Diego’s previous experiences with school and writing? His experiences in high school did little to address who he was as a person because he felt that those experiences were “irrelevant.” Diego’s experiences with bilingual education were important to his experiences with writing in college; they were pivotal components of his language and literate identities. He felt cheated in elementary school by a bilingual program that was not really bilingual, but rather “trying to make you learn English, not necessarily an emphasis on keeping both.” Many of his experiences caused him to consider what he was doing and to wonder if it was appropriate because many of his experiences had been invalidating and “pointed out” aspects of his identity that were different from “the norm.”

Diego—Looking forward—evolving new identity—agency. Diego asserted his perspective in discussing the draft of his personal statement for a summer internship program. I read Diego’s rich description of his community and wanted to provide a positive response to him about it. My response included, “So talking about these two things and relating it to broader issues and academic interests and issues, immigration, bring into the notion of how this is kind of like the place where people feel safe.” Diego paused and then said:

Can I say something? . . . I guess my intention was to kind of just like set the stage and kind of describe briefly the community and then just kind of to transition it to what I’m gonna talk about next, kind of the propositions and the more—I guess the different political aspect. I kind of wanted to talk about how people, even though they live here, and it’s one of the largest communities, that they still live in the shadows and in fear.

In my initial response, I had glossed over the part in his writing where he mentioned that the people in the community “live in the shadows and in fear” and, instead, I came up with an interpretation that they feel safe there. That may well be part of it, but my response glossed over the deeper feelings of fear that Diego was trying to express in his writing by saying that the people in the community where he is from, including himself and his family, “live in the shadows and in fear.” This was an example of the two of us playing out what he was referring to when he mentioned that people “point things out,” and him receiving the implied message that people think he should not write about his community. My response was making what he said more pleasant by saying that it is a safe place. It is significant that Diego paused before responding to my reaction, and it’s also telling that he started by saying “Can I say something?” Diego made an effort to ensure that his perspective was heard and not erased or made to sound more pleasant.

Maria

Maria—Text-based conversation. Maria and I discussed a paper that she wrote for a course on race, gender, and technology. She provided no course syllabus, rather I gathered information about the course from the university website, “This course examines how gender and race affect, and are affected by, information technologies.”

The crux of this part of the text-based interview was Maria’s ambivalence about the topic and her uncertainty that she wanted to write about Latinas and the internet:

I haven’t decided what to do. I’m not sure if I want to be at these types of websites and . . . researching more about how the internet promotes women, you know, as submissive, you know, like Latin American women as being submissive and being just good wives.

Maria was more interested in a topic that was focused on activism:

I was thinking of another topic, which is just looking at how the internet has helped . . . Latinos, like how they—how nationwide, how like with the recent rallies and stuff, like how it connects to, you know, nationwide, the people, and how like the internet has helped them.

Maria eventually chose a topic related to Latinos, activism, and technology for her final research project. She said, “I think I could write a lot about this.” She was much less ambivalent about this topic, and more energized by it, “Like I’ve seen it, too . . . I am interested in this . . . ‘cause other recent things that have happened (related to immigration) . . . even though we are miles and miles away, there’s still that unity.”

Writing about political movements that focused on organizing and unity was energizing for Maria. She was interested in positioning herself in a place of power by focusing on this new topic, rather than on her topic about Latinas and the internet. She also expressed some concerns, “I don’t think there’s a lot about that (social movements, Latinos, technology), “I’m worried about not finding enough research.”

Maria—Looking backward. Viewing Maria’s interest in activism along with some of her interpretation of high school experiences created a richer understanding. She felt that she lacked sufficient knowledge to keep up with her peers in her English classes and about Mexican history and mythology, “Many of the books make reference to Aztec mythology and to the gods and goddesses.” She felt connected to this mythology as an important part of her culture and history, and felt that she should know about it:

It’s embarrassing that he asked the students, “So what is this? What is the author referencing to?” And we don’t know . . . it’s part of our culture, and most of us are Mexican in the class, right? And like it’s part of our history, and we do not know who these people are, and we do not know . . . like what goddess this is . . . And he keeps on saying that . . . we should go out there and learn about this, ‘cause it’s our culture, and we need to keep it alive. . . . We don’t have the opportunity to learn about who we are.

As Maria interpreted her high school experiences, she said she felt embarrassed, and expressed anger that was communicated through her emphatic repetitions.

Maria partly attributed her perception of lack of knowledge in these areas to her high school experience. She recalled it was “not the best school” and “the administration was really mean with us, like with anyone. They were just really rude and really like if we were criminals, like if we were bad.” She described that they had to wear uniforms to avoid problems with gangs, they had to use see-through backpacks, and go through metal detectors as they entered the school. Her perception was that “A lot of the people in that school had low expectations of us.” Voicing her frustration about feeling invisible in school, Maria commented:

I was raised in a working class environment, with schools that were not that efficient and whatever, and I’m always learning about the majority population and stuff, and I never learned about myself and whatever, then it’s like, okay, why am I always learning about people that I don’t connect with? Why can’t I learn about people that look like me and that connect with experiences or whatever, you know, and our language?

Maria—Looking forward—Evolving new identity—Agency. Maria was also concerned about expressing her personal self. In an autobiographical paper for a course entitled “The Chicano Experience,” she said, “I don’t know where to start like my research . . . I don’t know what to write. Like it is my life, but I don’t know what to write.” She explained that with a lot of the writing she did, “It’s always just objective; there’s not feelings to it.” She also explained a technique she used in her writing to protect herself from revealing too much, “I always think of writing as being like a shield, protecting me, like I could write in the third person point of view, or first person point of view, but I could always be like, ‘No, it’s fiction.’” Taking this class, and having the opportunity to read about other people’s lives and write about her own life was a healing

experience in some ways. Reading other people's autobiographies prompted Maria to realize that it was alright for her to write about her life:

The whole class is about autobiographies, 'cause we have been reading about other people's autobiographies and their experiences in the United States or whatever happened to them? So like you just like read what they have written . . . It almost like makes me think that it's okay to write about your life . . . It's okay to bring up these issues.

Connecting Safely and Taking Risks

Cristina and Diana expressed their tendencies to stay away from sharing certain aspects of themselves in their papers, and toward papers that met the assumed expectations of the context (Cristina) or were neutral and avoided any potential conflict (Diana). They had extensive experiences with writing before they arrived at the university, but they were contexts that were very different from the university in the U.S. Cristina's experience was one in which she received instruction focused on literature and academic writing. Personal experiences and connections were not emphasized. Those experiences often served her well, but at the same time placed her at a disadvantage when she did not draw on her own experiences and perspectives. Diana's experience before enrolling in the university in the U.S. was that she explored her identity in her writing, expressed religious and moral aspects of her identity, and explored Puerto Rican literature, which was important to her. In the U.S., she felt that she was in a liminal space, "American"/"Latina"/Puerto Rican," and aspects of her identity that she felt were politicized were salient. She was uncomfortable discussing this aspect of her identity in the context of the university in the U.S. because she felt that it would be at odds with the views of those around her and cause conflict. Both women chose to write about topics that they assumed met the expectations of the context, or avoided conflict. This strategy

was useful for them, but also had disadvantages because it made it more difficult to connect with topics, develop a thesis statement/argument, and explore topics of importance. During our discussions, Cristina and Diana showed that in contexts where it was inviting to discuss issues of ethnic identity (Cristina's African-American studies course), and when the instructor validated students' discussions of political issues (Diana's ESL 114 course), they discussed issues that they ordinarily would not care to discuss. They continued to grapple with expressing parts of their identity in writing by finding opportunities to explore issues in other courses, and in ways that seemed safe.

Christina

Cristina—Text-based conversation. In her text-based interview, Cristina discussed a paper from her rhetoric class in which she was asked to write about a historical event by analyzing photographs. Her approach to the assignment was to interpret "historical" as something that was, or likely would be meaningful at some point because of its impact on the world, rather than as something that occurred in the past. She looked for current photographs that represented something significant going on in the world at the time she was writing the paper rather than searching for historical photos. She explained, "I chose two pictures that have to do with a certain event, and I did the War in Iraq, and they are both by the same photographer. And I have to, like, analyze them, and tie it in with a historical event as well." Cristina sounded confident about her analysis and her use of the photographs to identify a historical event.

When I asked Cristina why she chose to write about the Iraq war, she told me about her process of searching for photographs on the internet. Initially, she found photographs depicting hurricane Katrina and thought about writing about that, but

decided not to because she did not feel she could do a good analysis of the photographs. She then found a photograph from the Iraq war that she decided to use. Her focus was on finding a photograph that she could analyze because, she said, “Like to me, it really didn’t matter, the topic.” The focus on finding a photograph that would lend itself to analysis versus finding one that represented something that she felt was important contributed to the difficulty she had with creating and developing a thesis for her paper.

During our discussion about her paper she described the photographs in detail:

it looked like he’d been through a lot, like a battered soul . . . I don’t know what pointing a gun at him might represent. . . . He has his eyes closed and his mouth open—so he’s like exhaustion, relief and found serenity. And the background is blurry . . . the photographer wanted to capture that moment, physically . . . his hands are tied behind his back, but I don’t know why. . . . And it seems like the water is not even going into his mouth . . . he’s like no one from high authority, I didn’t know if that was a badge or not. . . . And I think that is why they are letting him free. Maybe they don’t really need him.

Cristina’s main concern during the conversation was her thesis statement:

Okay, I was talking to my teacher today and she was telling me, well, can I tell you my thesis first? . . . I chose “Taken from the American political point of view serenity, rebellion and relief were strong emotions depicted in both of them, but what one fails to see is what really goes on outside the pictures themselves” ‘cause he’s portraying like good stuff, like they are both freed men. But you don’t see what goes on in the wild, like people getting shot and everything. So I am going to analyze, or like talk about, how he makes it seem happy.

Cristina’s process was to describe the pictures and then create a thesis statement based on her description, but the process was difficult for her because she got stuck at times:

Cristina: I guess this is what you can see during the day, but what happens during the night, you don’t know.

Jason: Okay, that’s interesting . . . how come you got stuck there?

Cristina: Like I didn’t know what else to do.

Jason: What else did you learn?

Cristina: Yeah, we have to explain how we understand the issue through the photo, like how do we understand the War in Iraq. . . . Like, I have ideas, ideas I jotted down, but like, I don't know where they are going to go in my paper . . . That's the problem I have.

When she got stuck, she went to her instructor for ideas for analysis. Then, she put her writing aside and went back to it later. She was concerned about being able to have enough to say to write four pages on the topic.

Jason: And then is this other list down here?

Cristina: Yeah, I did that in class because I talked to my teacher and she told me more things.

Jason: Okay, more ideas for—

Cristina: Analyzing.

Jason: So now where are you going to go from here?

Cristina: I think that I am going to just leave it like that for now and then do this one because, I'm stuck . . . what I usually do is I write something and I don't finish it and I leave it and go back to it later. And like, my biggest concern is like making it four pages, because I want to make it long. It's so hard for me to make it really long.

Cristina said that our discussion helped her to come up with ideas.

Jason: So is this helping?

Cristina: Yeah it is . . . I didn't know how I was going to do it until now. And like my conclusion and intro, I had no idea.

Jason: So you feel like you have an idea of what you want to do next?

Cristina: Yeah, . . . 'cause yesterday I was just sitting there, feeling like I couldn't do anything, but now I feel like I can sit there and keep going and going and going with it.

Cristina—Looking backward. Cristina developed useful analytic writing skills in high school that she was able to draw on in college. However, her high school years included few experiences that involved relating herself to her writing. Cristina brought

papers that she had written for high school English classes. One in particular was from her sophomore English class about *Things Fall Apart*, a well-known novel by Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe that is often used in middle and high school English classes to increase students' understanding of other cultures. Cristina showed how one of the characters embodied both tragic and heroic qualities (for the complete essay see Appendix A). I asked if she was able to relate to that novel in some way, and her answer was simply, "No." In an excerpt of our conversation, Cristina commented on how she saw her relationship to *Things Fall Apart*:

Jason: Can you choose one of these papers, maybe from before college, and tell me a little bit about what it was like writing that paper?

Cristina: I don't remember. So . . . this one, Tragic Hero. [The title of the paper she wrote about *Things Fall Apart*]

Jason: Okay, so what was writing this one like?

Cristina: I actually used to start my papers with quotes, all the time in high school. And I got four quotes and I explained them before I started the paper.

Jason: Did you like writing this paper?

Cristina: It was easier, I don't know if I liked it.

Jason: What made it easier?

Cristina: It was a book. . . . I don't like writing something that comes out of me, I'd rather explain things. Or like write a research paper or read a book and write about it, not analyze it though 'cause that's still something that comes out of me . . . I think, even though I had to analyze characters here.

Jason: So in this paper you analyzed . . .

Cristina: Okonkwo's character.

Jason: So what did you think about the book?

Cristina: Um . . . it was good, I liked it.

Jason: Was it something that you felt like you could relate to?

Cristina: No.

During our discussion of the paper she wrote, she found some of the themes from *Things Fall Apart* applicable to her own life, for example, adapting to change, tradition, and cultural difference. However, Cristina told me that her recollection of the focus of the discussions in high school touched little on how the themes from the book related to her life.

Cristina—Looking forward—evolving new identity—agency. Cristina indicated that writing is important because it is connected to getting good grades and a good job; however, she indicated that she did not see meaning in it beyond that:

I know it's very important now and it's gonna be later, obviously. I'm gonna have to be writing things at all times like in the job market and all that stuff. I don't know about meaning anything. I just know it's important, 'cause I don't really like it; it doesn't really have a meaning. Right now, I just do it; I kind of like have to do it in order to get a grade. It's the only way I see it right now . . . because it's not like I want to do it.

Related to the issue of “meaning,” Cristina pointed out that writing for herself could make writing meaningful: “Maybe if it was something that I wrote for my own self, it would have a meaning to me. Because I would want to do it.” When I asked Cristina what she thought it would be like if she were to write something that was more for herself, her response was powerful: “I would . . . actually know what to write about instead of sitting there and thinking for hours. Maybe I would even do a better job at it.”

A paper from Cristina's African-American studies course provided an example of including a reference to her own cultural identity as an anecdote. For this assignment, the students were asked to write a short paper in which they explained what they knew about

the current state of African Americans, and also how they knew that information about that population. Cristina began the paper with a reference to herself as a Latina:

Excerpt 11: Cristina's First African-American Studies paper (Appendix A)
Being a Latin female in this country has helped me notice all the struggles that people of color must go through in their every day lives. Many of the problems that African Americans face arise from or lead back to racism. Racism is one of the reasons why there hasn't been a president of African American descent in office. For this same reason, African Americans are also being denied opportunities in the work force and financial help. In addition, society has always looked down upon African Americans, in a way that they're not viewed the same way as Caucasians. Even though affirmative action has helped society takes [sic] strides towards a more equal American, there is still a long journey ahead of us in order to completely achieve an "Equal America."

This was the first incident during my time with Cristina that any of her oral or written accounts mentioned her identity as a Latina in relation to an assignment she was doing for school. During our discussions of her high school writing experiences, she made no mention of her cultural identity, nor did she refer to it in the three high school papers she gave me. The topic of the African-American Studies course was related to understanding the study of a group of people who face racism, and Cristina related her personal identity to the subject matter because Latinos also face racism in the U.S. The context of the course encouraged Cristina to think about this aspect of her identity and relate it in her writing.

Cristina did not further refer to her identity and its relation to how she understood African-American studies. She relied on a friend to serve as a cultural informant to help her write the paper so it would meet what she perceived were the expectations of the instructor. "What I knew about African Americans . . . like I didn't know much, my friend told me because I didn't know what to write about, but he told me some things, he gave me ideas and then I wrote my paper." However, my interpretation of the

expectations of the paper was that the instructor genuinely wanted to know what the students knew and how they knew it. Cristina failed to discuss what she actually knew because she did not think it was appropriate. This strategy of relying on social networks may often be useful and important, and she did receive an A on the paper. However, Cristina's strategy prevented her from expressing what she knew about African Americans in the U.S. and how she knew it, which was the purpose of the assignment.

Later in the semester, Cristina drew on the experiences from the African-American Studies course and her identity as a Latina for a research paper for a rhetoric course. The door was opened for her to express her identity after she was invited to do so. The following is an excerpt:

Excerpt 12: Cristina's rhetoric paper, *Physical Representations of African Americans* (Appendix A)
Since I was born and partly raised in Mexico, I grew up learning the history of Latinos. . . I decided to expand my horizons and learn about a different culture. African-American Studies was one . . . that caught my eye. . . . Coming into the class I had no previous knowledge about African-American history, other than basic points such as slavery and the Civil War.

In Cristina's African-American Studies paper in which she referenced her Latina identity, she constructed herself as a person with some knowledge of African Americans and who realizes that racism is a fact of life in the U.S. In her rhetoric paper, she explained that she had less knowledge about African Americans because she was born in Mexico and completed part of her K-12 education there. In that paper, she explained how her identity contributed to the extent of her knowledge of African-Americans, and she expressed interest in expanding that knowledge.

Diana

Diana—Text-based conversation. In the U.S., Diana's personal connection to writing was complex. She discussed variation in the pronunciation of "r" and "l" in a critical essay that she was writing in Spanish for an upper-level sociolinguistics course in the Spanish department. At the end of our last text-based conversation Diana spoke with me at length about what she called the "Puerto Rican identity problem," but said that it was not something she would want to bring up in her classes or in her writing. She said that she preferred not to write about her identity and, instead, to write about neutral topics that did not include her personal feelings. She felt that her peers would not understand what she was talking about, and she was concerned that her viewpoints might offend:

I never write about that [identity issues] because when I tell about that, I need to include the politics, because some of the problems of identity is because our political situation is not defined. So then, I don't like to talk to . . . *hacer sentir mal a alguien por mi punta de vista* [make someone feel bad because of my point of view] that someone feels bad from my point of view.

In order to avoid the possibility of offending someone, Diana chose neutral topics:

I try to use a topic that I can be neutral and not put my feelings or ideas. . . . It's difficult because always you're going to put something that is about your feelings or something like that.

For Diana, being in the U.S. prompted her to think more about her Puerto Rican identity, and she felt it made her understanding of her identity more complex:

I think that if I talk about politics, I am talk more because now I feel like, okay, who I am? I am not here but I am not, so. . . . Because in Puerto Rico, I never think about our problems of identity. Because when I read those groups of authors [authors that talk about Puerto Rican identity like Esmeralda Santiago], I think "They're not sure about who they are?" That is simple they are Puerto Ricans, but I don't see the great of the complication that was the topic. So, and also when I read Esmeralda Santiago, it talks about the identity problems. Not directly, but for the way that she described everything, it's, "Okay, she has problems of identity." Because in all his [sic] childhood, her mom remembered that, "Oh, you need to be a decent Puerto Rican, not an American girl." And when she goes to the schools

and has class, and some of the classmates are American, they might tell her, “Oh, you are Latin.” But when she tries to talk with another Latin, they tell her, “Oh, you are American.” So—.

For Diana, she avoided exploring some topics that she was interested in, for example, politics, and Puerto Rican identity, again, because she wanted to avoid conflict. She indicated that she strived to maintain harmonious interactions, and she felt that required not discussing her thoughts about identity or politics:

I’m not sure. I try to expand, to investigate in a new topic, but not in the topic that because the situation of identity and the situation of our relation with the United States I don’t have, because sometimes the person have a *mal*—a bad interpretation because they think that, okay, if you don’t agree with the government probably you’re not gonna agree with the American people. I don’t have any problem to socialize with the American people and following with them because I have a good experience when I talk with them and participate in the same activities that I would like to explain that the worry of Puerto Rican situation is our relation with the government. . . . And it’s not for all of the Puerto Ricans, because some are agree and they want to join completely and be in the future a state, so but some of them want to maintain this situation, a commonwealth, and some say independence. But I think . . . the Puerto Ricans decide between the state or independence because when we continue in the commonwealth, we are going to continue to have the problems of identity. Okay, I am not here, but I am not here or here—in between.

Many of the topics that Diana wrote about reflected her tendency toward neutral topics, for example, “Public School and Home School,” “*Variación social en el uso de las líquidas en el español de Puerto Rico*” [*Social variation in the use of liquids in the Spanish of Puerto Rico*].

Diana—Looking backward. Much of Diana’s experience with writing in the U.S. was related to her experiences with language and writing in Puerto Rico. In order to understand her complicated relationship with language and identity, it is helpful to understand more about the messages Diana received about language and identity in Puerto Rico:

The government system tries to teach us both languages [*English and Spanish*], like both was our native language . . . and it's difficult because many persons want to perfect their native language that is Spanish and not English. . . . And in the school, does not teach the English, like a secondary language, both are the same importance, Spanish and English. You are continuously interested in both languages . . . so the only point is that you don't use in your life, the English, because everybody speaks Spanish.

Her parents wanted her to learn English. Diana told an anecdote about what she saw her father do with things he received in the mail in English, "When my father received some documents in English, he don't read the documents. He, okay, put away [chuckle]. And so, I saw that, and I'm—what happened here?" Diana's story indicated her awareness that the message she received from her father was that the English language was unimportant to him. She asked him about that, and she recounted what he told her:

"Okay, I don't want that you see the language like I," he told me. "I feel that the English is an imposed language, because it comes with the invasion of the U.S. on Puerto Rico." And I understand because many people . . . a similar age of my dad, or older, think that.

Diana pointed out that the U.S. invaded Puerto Rico and then implemented instruction in English in the schools, causing many people to be pushed out of the educational system if they did not speak English. I believe Diana was saying that this is what happened to her parents.

Although Diana was well aware of the complex language context of Puerto Rico, according to our conversations and the writing she shared with me, it was not an aspect of her identity that she drew on heavily in her writing in Puerto Rico. Rather, the writing that she included from high school reflected her interests in religion and working with youth. *Radio* is a paper in which she responded to an opinion piece about radio in a Puerto Rican newspaper. She wrote:

Aunque nos duela, hay que admitir que comenzando con los animadores hasta los oyentes son un triste ejemplo del semianalfabetismo y pérdida de la práctica de valores que abundan en nuestra sociedad. Es lamentable, escuchar estos programas que conducen a nuestros jóvenes, a repetir sus idioteces.

Translation: Although it may pain us, we must admit that from the hosts to the listeners they are a sad example of semi-illiteracy and loss of the practice of values that abound in our society. It's lamentable to listen to these programs that drive our youth to repeat their idiocies.

Another paper was titled *La Guerra*, a short paper in which she explained her feelings against war, grounded in her religion:

Mi cristal de ver al mundo es diferente. ¡Menos mal! Gracias a Dios le doy. Aunque, piensen que pierdo mi tiempo, nadando contra la corriente. Por tal razón pienso, que para lograr la paz no hay que provocar la guerra.

Translation: My lens for viewing the world is different. Thank goodness! I give thanks to God. Although people may think I'm wasting my time, swimming against the current. For this reason I think that to achieve peace it's not necessary to provoke war.

In *Visión del futuro de nuestro país*, Diana wrote about the family and invoked religion:

A nosotros los jóvenes nos preocupa el futuro de la institución familiar porque pensamos que es la base pilar que tenemos . . . El Padre José Kentenich decía: "Trabajamos fuera de la casa y destruimos nuestra propia familia. Debemos dejar a un lado nuestras ansias de éxitos."

Translation: We young people are worried about the future of the family institution because we think it is the base of the pillar that we have . . . Father José Kentenich said, "We work outside the home and we destroy our own family. We should set aside our longings for success."

Diana also gave me a paper from high school entitled *Los programas televisivos y su efecto en la sociedad*:

Nuestra sociedad se ha transformado, según han evolucionado los programas de televisión. Hace unos años atrás los programas que se presentaban eran más educativos. Por esto, se podía apreciar aún los valores. Mientras que ahora existen programas educativos, pero son los preferidos. Ésta es una de las razones que observamos en los jóvenes y adultos la pérdida de valores.

Translation: Our society has changed, just as television programs have evolved. A few years back the programs that were shown were more educational. Because of

this, one could still appreciate values. While educational programs do still exist now, they are not the preferred ones. This is one of the reasons that we observe in young people and adults a loss of values.

Although Diana was reluctant to convey her personal, moral, and religious convictions in her writing in this country, in Puerto Rico, she did not choose neutral topics; instead, she eloquently and passionately expressed opinions in those papers.

Diana also shared a paper that was assigned to her in high school that shows the prevalence in her educational background of discussions of Puerto Rican identity. Diana shared an essay called *Comparación entre la Antígona de Grecia y Antígona Pérez* in which she read Sophocles' *Antigone* and compared it to a play written by Puerto Rican playwright Luis Rafael Sánchez, *La Pasión según Antígona Pérez*. This play is based on the life of Olga Viscal Garriga, a Puerto Rican activist who was a member of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, and who spent some time in jail for her political beliefs.

Diana also gave me papers that she wrote at the university in Puerto Rico that show how she was developing knowledge about Puerto Rican literature and identity. She wrote papers about *El Baúl de Miss Florence*, a novel by Ana Lydia Vega that tells stories about life at a hacienda in Puerto Rico in the 1800s, *Gonzalo Fernández de Oveido*, Spanish royalty from the 16th century who made trips to the Caribbean for the Spanish government and wrote books describing life there, and *La Charca*, by Manuel Zeno Gandía, considered to be the first Puerto Rican novel, published in 1894.

Excerpt 13: Excerpt from Diana's paper: *El Baúl de Miss Florence* (Appendix B)
El Baúl de Miss Florence es un texto que capta toda la atención del lector por la serie de relatos que lo componen. Es interesante porque estos relatos, al igual que en "La casa de la laguna" y "Don Quijote" se pueden leer por separados. Es una técnica que motiva al lector a estar pendiente del desarrollo de la obra ya que se ve envuelto en ella al tratar de enlazar los sucesos como un buen detective o investigador.

Este texto me llamó la atención simplemente por la manera que estaba escrita y haberme podido envolver como una investigadora, sino porque a través de su lectura pude recoger o repasar casi todos los temas que hemos tocado durante el semestre en clase. Principalmente, en esta obra pude ver retratado muchos elementos de Pedreira y de Rosario Ferré en “La casa de la laguna.”

Translation: Miss Florence’s Trunk is a text that captures the reader’s whole attention with the series of stories that it is comprised of. It is interesting because these stories, both “The Lakehouse” and “Don Quijote” can be read separately. It is a technique that motivates the reader to pay attention to the development of the work since one becomes involved in it when trying to connect the events like a good detective or investigator.

This text captured my attention simply because of the manner in which it was written and the fact that it was able to involve me like an investigator, because through reading it I was able to pick up or check almost all the themes that we have touched on during the semester in class. In large part, in this work I was able to see depicted many elements of Pedreira and of Rosario Ferré in “The Lakehouse.”

Diana—Looking forward—Evolving new identity—Agency. Diana was clear that political and identity issues were salient for and that she did not want to write about or discuss them in her classes. However, she did write about a political issue for an ESL writing assignment that asked students to write an ‘academic’ cause-and-effect essay. When Diana talked about identity issues and not wanting to hurt people’s feelings she often referred to “Americans,” so it seemed that her ESL class with other English language learners provided a space for Diana in which she felt she could express some of her personal beliefs. Diana chose to include in her paper the political aspects of the American invasion:

Because with the invasion, I can talk about how impact in the policy and maybe some talk about their relations and also can talk about the economy and about the education, how impact . . . education. Because in our schools, the first time we was Spanish, but after the American invasions, the influence the English at the beginning.

In a paper proposal that Diana wrote, she included some of her opinions about the U.S. government, and her writing instructor commented on Diana's opinion. Below, I provide Diana's text on the left, and her instructor's comment on the right:

Diana's text	Instructor's comment
I find it very difficult to understand the U.S.A. government because they are proud of their liberties and fight to defend 'human rights' and democracy, but on the other side they break and violate the rights of others.	And I am very ashamed of my government for doing that.

Figure 2. Diana's ESL writing course paper.

In this situation Diana took a chance to express her opinion rather than being neutral, and she did not offend her instructor who was welcoming of Diana's opinion. The context was supportive for Diana in expressing her personal beliefs and opinions that she was concerned about expressing. However, Diana's view that she should not include her personal opinions in her academic writing continued to cause difficulty.

As Diana spoke about this paper, she indicated that she had difficulty that seemed to stem from her view that her writing should not contain her personal opinions. She said that she was having difficulty with it because she had a lot of information and was not sure how to integrate it without including her own opinions:

And I have a lot of information, and different people have different opinions about how it impacts. And that's why I have my main opinion, but I don't want to write only my opinion. I want to be very . . . it's complicated.

During both of our text-based conversations, Diana discussed her paper about variation in the pronunciation of "r" and "l," which she wrote in Spanish for an upper-level sociolinguistics course: "In Spanish 553, we are studying the different variance in the sounds, analytical variance, and social variance and how influencing the language and

why the language change in different places.” The course discussions were in both English and Spanish as well as the readings:

In the Spanish class, I heard both languages: the English and Spanish. And also, I need to read in English in the Spanish class . . . some courses in Spanish, the professor tells me in English and gives me the instruction in English.

The course was challenging for Diana, “I am worried because I am the only student that’s an undergraduate. So everyone knows what they are doing, with the exception of me,” and her feelings about her critical essay, “It’s complicated to me because I never did this kind of work.”

Although the “r”/”l” paper was complicated for her, she sounded like a scholar at times when she talked about how she synthesized divergent opinions in the literature. She specified what she wanted to show in the literature, and what her hypotheses were:

I think that I don’t understand the articles in the same way that they do it, because I feel that I am according to Tomas Navarro, that some issues [are] historic. For example, the lateralization in the north of the island, it’s because have more African people or persons that are descendants of the African people. For that reason, use more lateralization of l, than r. And also, the region is different. So I think that if you are far away from the capital, that has some means of r, so you are going to use another one. So I think that the difference of the regions is important. So I am not looking the same way. I am looking at the relation between region and historic issues. And I am going to suggest that some of these . . . changes are for some historic issues, and for the localization, for that reason, it’s different. I want to see the results of issues. . . . So, but on the south of the island, preferred the lateralization of l than the lateralization of r. So probably it’s because—I think that’s probably the reason is because of where the Africans concentrate in the island—I want to—I am interesting to prove that theory.

She related that she did not really express her personal identity in the paper. I asked her, “So do you feel like you can see you’re putting yourself into this paper?” and her response was “Probably in the critique section. But in the first part, it’s completely academic.” Her response provided an insight into her tendency to view academic writing

as a genre that does not allow for putting herself in her papers. In a previous interview, Diana commented on this paper:

About the variables that identify the Puerto Rican speech, I've heard . . . "You're Puerto Rican, because you don't say 'Puerto Rico,' you say 'Puelto Lico.'" There is an exaggeration way of the person believe that we pronounce, but I understand that they try to tell me that we change the r for l. But, to me, was a new knowledge.

Diana did put herself in her paper. She talked about her interests in the topic, having developed an awareness of being seen as "Puerto Rican" based on her language, and she was interested in exploring "the why" behind the language use. She was interested in Spanish-English language contact, "how their Spanish changes and the English changes and why." Also, Diana was from a rural area, noting "study only the capital of the different places, but don't see the rural places. So I think that it's very interesting the rural places. It's completely different . . . I think that's probably because some of them have opportunities, Spanish and English, the opportunities to study or something like that." Diana talked about one of the authors and his argument that language variation in Puerto Rico was related to the languages of the African and French people there:

He's talking about in the historical aspects, he's saying that the difference variance of r in the north of the island maybe is because have more contents (connections) with African people, and in the other parts of the island, because probably have content (connection) with French people.

Issues emerged related to her being from a rural area, living in a colonized country where the language is in contact with other languages, and her experience of being seen as Puerto Rican based on these issues. The "neutral" stance of the paper may have been a means for her to talk about some of these "controversial" issues in a way that

seemed safer because she was discussing them indirectly through a scholarly sociolinguistics discourse.

Connecting Personally and Overcoming

“Connecting personally and overcoming” is a theme that refers to Jenny and Nicolas’s, drive to connect to writing through personal experiences and their sense that they had to overcome obstacles in their development as writers. Although Jenny is an early arriver and Nicolas is a later arriver, many aspects of their writing and writing experiences shared commonalities. They connected personally by referencing personal experiences and stories. They expressed negative experiences with education that were intertwined with their writing experiences, which led me to view their writing practices as overcoming. They exercised agency and showed development as writers by grappling with ways to negotiate the context of the university with their previous experiences and ways of connecting to writing.

Jenny—Text-based conversation. Jenny said she wanted to write her final paper for her rhetoric class about immigration, but was encouraged not to do so. Nonetheless, her instructor encouraged her to include stories, which she felt was helpful, and so she did that. In our discussions of her paper, she invited me to look at her grammar, after which she told me about her bad high school experiences and how much she was improving in college.

In one of our text-based conversations, Jenny discussed her final paper for the Rhetoric 102 course. For the paper, the instructor had asked the students to write about their majors. “I had told him I really do not wanna do my paper on community health, ‘cause I think my major is boring.” Her impression of the discussion was as follows:

I wanted something more that I can get into. . . . I could talk about something that has to deal with my major. And he's like, "What is it?" And I told him, I was like, I could talk about how people don't really help our race and all this stuff. And then, he's like, "Well, I think people have enough information about that." I was like, okay, well, what about if I talk about immigration and what's going on right now? He's like, "Well, no, you should just do it on your major."

She had difficulty connecting with the paper and getting ideas for what to write, and said to her instructor, "What should I write about my major?" Jenny said her instructor "was giving me ideas on how to start my paper. . . . He told me to give a story . . . so he was helping me out a lot." She included a story about wanting to major in chemistry and taking her first chemistry class at the university and realizing it was not for her. The story illustrated why she started searching for another major and how she found community health. She also included an anecdote about her mother:

Excerpt 14: Jenny's community health paper

My mother, for example, does not have an idea how much money she could be saving every time she visits the doctor. She has always believed that there is no such insurance that will help her with her debts, when in reality there are insurance who help families with their health benefits.

Another topic during our text-based conversation focused on grammatical issues. Jenny commented on her paper, "I read over the first three pages . . . it's like I don't get confused, so it's okay. I know I still have mistakes in there, but I'm trying to fix it." I asked Jenny if she wanted me to read her paper and she replied, "You could feel free to write comments or anything to help me with my paper . . . my grammar." We talked for a few minutes about using parallel structure with coordinating conjunctions and looked at some sentences in her paper to focus on that. Afterwards Jenny exclaimed, "That's awesome, I didn't know that."

Jenny talked about how much she had developed as a writer since high school:

(In high school) it was just like, "Do a paper on whatever." . . . I know I've improved a lot, and I know that in high school, if someone would've gave me a

10-page paper, I probably would've not done it because I wouldn't know. . . . But now . . . I know what I gotta do. . . . In high school . . . I'll just write a 10-page paper about whatever . . . the teachers are not gonna look at it . . . it didn't motivate me at all . . . and here, there's so much competition . . . so that gives me more like, say, I don't wanna look bad. So I put more in it.

Upon reflecting about how much she had developed in her first year in college, Jenny said, "It feels good actually knowing that I finished my first year of college. . . . I feel like I've accomplished something. . . . I'm probably gonna get my Master's and everything. I plan to do big things."

Jenny—Looking backward. Jenny indicated that part of what motivated her writing was that she did not want to "look bad." Where did this desire to protect herself from "looking bad" come from? Jenny's accounts of high school provided some insight.

Jenny said that she did little writing in high school, "It was little paragraphs that gave a description of that person. You know? But other than that, they would never ask us for long papers, never. Never." She said that although she did not receive instruction in how to write a research paper, all of the students were required to write a research paper in her senior year, "We actually were writing petitions saying we didn't want this paper, that we were not gonna do it." Jenny felt that she learned little about writing in high school, "I had to learn everything about writing here in college."

As we discussed her views of writing, Jenny revealed that she had really connected with her high school chemistry teacher and that she helped her a lot with her writing. The teacher told her that she needed to improve it to be successful in college. Jenny recounted some of what she remembered about how her chemistry teacher helped her with her writing:

"Jenny, you gotta write papers. Jenny, your writing has to get better." It got me thinking that . . . I do gotta get better in my writing. I don't wanna go to my

professor and him reading a third grade writing paper, when it's not like that, you know? So just me thinking that I had to get better at it because others who are above me or know more about me, were gonna see this and were gonna be like, okay, "Well, this is not really your writing because you're writing like a third grader. You're not really writing; you're just—we could say you're just putting things out there, and you're not really thinking of what you're writing."

I encouraged her to elaborate:

Jason: You were talking about how you didn't want to be embarrassed by your writing or by what people would think about it.

Jenny: So just teachers saying like, "Oh, well, she doesn't know the difference between this, you know." I didn't want my professors to think like, "She's in college. Why doesn't she know this yet? Or, she's in college, and she's writing poor papers, you know. Look at these run-on sentences. No capital letters." Things like that, you know? Things that should've been gone by, we could say, fifth grade or something like that, you know? And I was still having problems with it. So I didn't want professors to think like, "Well, she has a major writing problem." . . . Because my senior teacher, he was reading my paper. . . . And he was the one telling me, "Look, when you go to college, teachers are gonna think that you're not college material because your writing is poor, and look at these mistakes." . . . And I would feel bad because, okay, you know, it's probably true, you know. What are teachers gonna expect from me? If you're in a university, they expect these things from you, you know. You're expected to probably be a good writer and things like that. And I'm here writing run-on sentences. I'm still getting mixed up with the "there's and where's" and stuff like that, you know. So he's the one that told me that my writing was not really college-level, we could say. You know? So he kind of made me see it, like "Oh, well, I don't want to go to college looking like I'm stupid or something, you know. So that's what I didn't want, you know? . . . [that] made me feel bad about my writing, like I guess my writing is garbage, then, I guess.

The summer academic support program, Transitions, helped Jenny get past some of her negative experiences from high school and she perceived that she improved her writing:

But when I went to the summer program, I know that my papers got better. I'm not gonna say my papers are perfect now, you know, I still need improvement on 'em. But they're way better than what they were.

Jenny—Looking forward. Jenny participated in a program at the university

designed to provide opportunities for students who do not meet the standard admissions

requirements of the university, but who show potential to succeed. She remarked, “We’re students that we’re not supposed to be here because of a number that supposedly separates us.” Jenny spoke highly of her experience in the program, partly because she saw improvement in her writing afterwards. She mentioned one of her writing teachers: from the program several times:

I actually learned a lot from my English teacher because he taught me how to be more descriptive, you don’t always have to go with what’s right, but put your own thoughts into your words, too, because people will see that you were into the paper and they’ll notice that you really put effort into the paper.

Jenny talked about what she learned from the Transitions program, that “Writing should always be—your thoughts should always be in that paper, you know? . . . So I learned to put my opinions in my paper, to put thought in my paper, to relate to the topic.”

Part of connecting to her writing related to being an immigrant:

Jason: So do you feel like being an immigrant is a big part of who you are, or—

Jenny: It is. It is a huge part because there are so many people out there who have papers, who have everything they could possibly need to go to college, and they don’t use that. And me, I don’t, but I just feel like, you know what? I’m not gonna let myself down just because I don’t have the papers or I don’t have, you know, what qualifies me for financial aid. So I struggle because my parents gotta pay everything out of pocket. No loans, no nothing. It’s just out of pocket. \$20,000 is a lot of money. So it just gets me mad how people don’t take advantage of what they have. I guess my personality is like I’m very strong at what I do, and I don’t give up easily. If I want it, I’ll get it.

In the summer prep program that Jenny participated in, an opportunity arose for her to write a paper about any topic. She chose to write about immigration because it was an important part of her identity, and she felt that she could write a lot about it:

We had a choice of what papers to do, and I chose immigration because I knew I could relate to it. . . . And when I put my personal thoughts, it was like more things come up to me. . . . So it gives me a better idea, and it gives me a better understanding of how I want my paper, you know? And I could relate

immigration to me because I have family that are immigrants. You know, immigrants are people that jump borders and stuff like that. My parents came in as tourists, but they decided to stay, so I could be qualified as an immigrant. And knowing that I know so much about it and knowing how others suffered, I would say I would write that paper and let people know that I know what they're going through. And it's not fair for what America, you know, is doing to them or things like that, you know? And that's how I always think about it. I think about my audience now.

Jenny pointed out that she chose to write about the topic of immigration for a variety of reasons. One of the first reasons she pointed out was that she “could relate to it.” Being able to relate to the topic facilitated her writing because “more things come up,” and “it gives me more ideas of what to write.” Jenny touched on the fact that she connected with others when they shared something personal about their experiences:

I think if I was to read other people's papers and see information that they've put in their personal experience . . . I would be like, okay, well, I understand. You know? So I want to know more about this person, or I want to know what they think about the paper that they're writing.

Her tendency was to relate to writing through connecting on a personal level. However, as she hinted in the above excerpt, connecting personally can be risky and is something that one must make decisions about and negotiate, “So what do I write, you know? Do I really want to write this, and how will I write it?” The paper that revealed aspects of her personal story as an immigrant was not a “regular paper.” Rather, she said, “I'm writing this because I know about it and because I can relate to it, not just because it's a paper that I have to do.”

Jenny shared another paper from her Rhetoric 102 course, entitled “Women Abuse” in which she grappled with sharing herself and how much of herself to reveal. For that paper, the instructor asked the students to go to the university art museum and

write about a piece of artwork (the paper is reproduced in Appendix D). Jenny described the artwork, which was a conceptual piece of a dress:

And I chose that dress. Yeah, and the thing was that that dress had sentences around the dress, they were copyrighted because the girl, the woman, those sentences, the woman never wants to say it again or they never wanted to hear them again from their abusers or from their partner. So they were sentences like, “Do you speak English?” and “Stop touching me” and “You’re only good for sex.”

Part of what encouraged Jenny to reveal personal information in her paper was that her teacher encouraged it. She was working on combining her personal experiences with appeals to authorities and statistics, more traditional forms of creating arguments in academic writing:

So my paper has to deal with a dress that symbolizes women abuse. And the reason why I chose that is because my teacher says to put personal thought in there and to give your opinion, so I decided to do that because I know how women abuse is. I was in a family where my mom was abused. So I felt like I was really going to put that into it. I really was going to catch people’s attention because I was writing it from a personal view and I was giving information about that, I was giving statistics and I was letting people know that this is not just a dress, it’s something that symbolizes that women—that they’re getting abused and with this dress, the dress was made out of bullet- proof material, and with the bullet-proof material it makes it seem like, okay, no longer will they get hurt. So that’s why I chose that dress because I knew that I was going to give personal information and I knew that I was going to be able to get into the paper. So that’s why . . . I’m the type of person that I like to write papers that I’m into. If you tell me to write about stem cell research, I’m going to be like, oh! Oh, no! You know, I’m going to get pushed trying to get that paper done, but if you told me to write something about whatever you have a passion for, or whatever you feel like there’s a problem in the city, in the world, then I’ll write something because I know it’s something that I feel and I feel like it’s a concern.

Jenny recognized that she connects to writing, both her own and that of others, through personal accounts. This way of connecting also comes with some degree of risk that she must negotiate:

Well, I didn’t want to put too much information out there . . . but I just wanted people to know that I knew how those women in the dresses felt, you know,

because my mom went through women abuse. So just me putting my personal experience, it gives me more ideas of what to write, you know?

She also relayed what she told her teacher about what she was grappling with:

I don't want to give a lot of information about my life 'cause I don't know half of these people in classes yet, you know. But I want to let them know that I've been through it, and I don't think it's right for a woman to go through abuse like this.

Nicolas

Nicolas—Text-based conversation. In my first text-based conversation with Nicolas, he chose to discuss a three-page paper for an assignment called “rhetorical analysis” (the paper appears in Appendix F). He provided me with the assignment sheet the instructor had given the class. It asked students to choose one of two articles on which to write a rhetorical analysis, either a selection by Hitler called “On Nation and Race,” or an article titled, “Bilingualism in America: English Should Be the Official Language.” Specifically, the assignment asked students to “say something about how effectively the rhetorical devices used in the article strengthen the argument for an audience.”

Nicolas chose the article on bilingualism. It was originally published in 1989 in *U.S.A Today* and was included in a reader entitled *Exploring Language*, marketed for first-year composition courses in a four-article section titled “Should English Be the Official Language of the U.S.A?” The entire reader was not used in the class because the essay by Hitler was not included in it. None of the assignment sheets mentioned a reader, and he never mentioned one during our interviews.

Nicolas's teacher provided step-by-step directions via an assignment sheet. It contained the following headings: due date, length, specifications, format: What is rhetorical analysis? How to conduct rhetorical analysis, rhetorical analysis: specific hints, helpful hints as you write your rhetorical analysis. The “format” section detailed

instructions on how to go about writing the paper. It indicated that the first paragraph should give the title of the article, the author's name, and the thesis of the article, a few areas to be explored, and then the student should provide the thesis for the paper. The assignment sheet then directed the students to provide an overview of the article, and to suggest who the likely audience of the article was. After the first two paragraphs, the assignment sheet indicated that the students should divide the paper into two sections, one for the "content," and another for the "expression" of the article, or how the content was presented.

Nicolas's approach to the paper was to follow the steps the instructor laid out in order and to linearly follow the directions outlined in the assignment sheet. His draft contained exactly what the assignment sheet said to do, an introductory paragraph that stated the title, full name of author, and thesis of the article, second paragraph with a brief overview of the content of the article, and who the audience was. He got stuck on the part that said to focus separate sections on content and expression, and his draft ended there. Nicolas said, "That's where it threw me off. Like I didn't know where to go from there." When Nicolas said he got thrown off, it was when I was reading the assignment sheet out loud and got to the part that said, "From there, focus separate sections on Content (evidence, examples, logic) and Expression (organization and language use) in the article and how issues in each of the categories were designed to reach a particular audience." He said he got thrown off right when I read, "focus separate sections on Content." Thereafter Nicolas relied on individual discussions with his instructor to determine how to continue with the paper.

This step-by-step instruction of the assignment sheet coincided with Nicolas's perceptions of and beliefs about writing at the university.

So far, writing is not easy, but it's just very simple, you know? It's not like math where you gotta develop a whole problem, and you gotta make it smaller, or you gotta define the derivative of this and that and this, you know? And the rules that you gotta follow. I mean, there are rules in writing, you know, but like they're already set, they don't change. You don't have to deal with them; it's just following instructions.

Nicolas's understanding of math as more complex and requiring more nuanced thought likely came from the fact that he was more interested in mathematical thinking. He planned to major in engineering. In addition, in talking about school in Mexico he said, "School was pretty much a blur besides science and math . . . that's what I liked a lot." He explained his understanding of math and contrasted it with writing.

The way I see math is you gotta do different problems a lot of times in order to have the rules, 'cause there's different steps to it, there's puzzles. You got all these tools, and then, you gotta know how to use 'em. We write and just follow the directions, and you'll be alright. Maybe a little grammar here, a little grammar there, commas, you know, transition words, works cited or titles and all that. But, you know, since you've been writing your whole life, you kind of have an idea, you know. It's . . . another language, but you've been writing—you know, it's another level, and another level, and another level, you know? But that's the way I see it.

This view of writing was also reinforced by the way Nicolas understood the instruction he received in his university rhetoric course:

What we do in the class, we discuss things that we read; it's not much about writing so much. It's about reading and understanding. So with the papers so far, it's just more about when—it's not a class; it's just tutorials. That's when she's like, "Ah, you see this sentence? It's compound. That's why you need a comma here." The rules that I already—that I've just gotta implement, you know? Like, for example, today she explained to me that for every transition word, like "however," and "therefore," there's a comma after it, because it's like—you know, I don't know how she explained it, but I understood it, you know. And she does help me out, but yeah, she's a really good teacher.

Nicolas—Looking backward. Nicolas understood the writing instruction he received as meeting his perceptions about writing before college. During his K-12 education in Mexico and the U.S., he encountered experiences that contributed to developing a view of writing focused on rules and conforming to norms of standard language. Nicolas's memories about learning how to write in Mexico focused mainly on grammar in which he was to underline parts of speech:

We had the actual book and another book with exercises that we had to fill out. I don't know. I guess it was just a different system. 'Cause we had to underline the subject, like the person or thing or stuff. And then, the verb in a different color, and then the rest of the thing. . . . It was just the grammar stuff.

The way he talked about writing indicated that he saw it as a process of learning the formal code of the language that is the same for everyone. First, children learn to master forming the letters of the alphabet, and later progress to using reading and summary writing as a means to learn the "standard" language, with a focus on grammar.

Nicolas's explanation of his writing instruction in middle school in the U.S. reinforced his developing view of writing as a rule-learning activity:

I learned about commas, periods, semicolons, the title, like putting your name and putting the name of the teacher, the date, the class, the title, the formatting—double-spaced, 1 inch on the side, page numbers—and there was probably more, but I don't really remember.

Nicolas mentioned that he had no idea about writing essays in Spanish because he did not learn about it in Mexico. So if he were to write in Spanish, he would apply what he learned about writing in English to writing in Spanish. He also retained implicit messages about literacy, for example, that there is a certain way to learn to write, that people learn in similar ways, that it is primarily a rule-learning process focusing on learning to form the letters and then practicing grammar, that there is a "right" way to use

language. He brought these experiences to college and to his rhetoric course. In that new context he was met with implicit/explicit ideas about writing that were tied to his previous experiences in some ways, but that were very different in others. The next section illustrates how his experiences interacted with the university writing context and how he interpreted and responded to the context.

Nicolas—Looking forward. Another one of the instructions on the assignment sheet for the “rhetorical analysis” paper discussed previously indicated that the students’ opinions about the subject being argued were not important in the assignment and should not be mentioned. This made sense because the purpose of the paper was to demonstrate the extent to which rhetorical devices used in the article strengthened the argument for a particular audience. Because Nicolas had personal opinions on the topic, he was prompted to think and talk about his perspective, and he did so at great length. Both Nicolas and I had strong reactions to the article, but our reactions were almost opposite.

When I saw the title of the article, “Bilingualism in America: English Should Be the *Official* Language,” my immediate reaction was that I would disagree with the article. The article contained a short biography of the author, Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa. After reading the biography, I felt even more strongly that I would disagree with the article. It said that his parents were Japanese, that he was born and educated in Canada, and that he had a distinguished career as a professor of linguistics. During one of his university positions, he was appointed president of the university in the 1960s, and during that time he suppressed student uprisings there. The biography indicated that Conservatives agreed with Hayakawa’s actions, and he later served one term as a Republican senator in California. It also pointed out that after leaving the Senate he was a leader in the

movement to make English the official language of the U.S. He said that having one language would increase trust, and having more than one language would be costly and chaotic. One of the primary reasons he gave for the importance of making English the official language was that he believed bilingual education programs prevented immigrants from learning English, succeeding academically, and graduating from high school. Based on my knowledge of language acquisition and bilingual education, I feel that Hayakawa's article is inflammatory and that his perspective acts to engender negative attitudes. Ruiz (1984) proposed three orientations toward language planning and policy: language as a problem, a right, and a resource. Hayakawa, with his emphasis on English proficiency and denigration of other languages, represented language as problem orientation.

Hayakawa attempted to enhance his view by recounting his experiences as an immigrant. By the time he immigrated to the U.S., he had been speaking English outside of the home for his entire schooling, including a graduate degree. Although his parents immigrated to Canada from Japan and his mother was not fluent in English, Hayakawa did not grow up bilingual. The website for U.S. English, the organization Hayakawa founded to promote English as the official language of the U.S., contains a quote from Hayakawa, "I am very proud of the fact that two of my children speak Spanish very well. I do not. One of them speaks Japanese. I do not." His pointing out that he was an immigrant was likely a rhetorical device designed to sway readers that he had personal knowledge of the issue of bilingual education. However, he did not immigrate as a child, and he did not experience bilingual education.

Because of my own belief that language is not only a right, but a resource (Ruiz, 1984) and because Nicolas is bilingual in English and Spanish, I believed that he would also see Hayakawa's article as a proposal that would infringe on the rights of bilingual people and immigrants. This was not the case. Nicolas agreed with points Hayakawa raised in the article and, therefore, Nicolas and I had completely different reactions to it. In general, Nicolas's response was to agree with the article and mine was to disagree. I was struck that someone who is bilingual would oppose bilingual education. His interpretation of the article was influenced by his experiences with ESL instruction. He had negative experiences with ESL instruction and felt that it held him back. Although the assignment sheet pointed out that students' personal opinions were not necessarily relevant in analyzing how and why the author's use of rhetorical tools created an effective argument for a specific audience, the bulk of my discussion with Nicolas centered around his opinions and experiences.

At the beginning of our text-based conversation, Nicolas told me that he had an article to read and how many pages he had to write:

We have to read this assignment. . . . And this is how much I have to do later, three pages. . . . It's just pretty much all you gotta do is just the first half of it, summarize what you're gonna tell about, like what the article is about. And then, after that, you gotta do rhetorical analysis pretty much. Like right here, like this is the format. Introduction, second paragraph.

I read through the assignment with him and mentioned that the point of the assignment was to read the article and do a rhetorical analysis. Nicolas's response was, "Yeah, yeah, but I couldn't find any. . . . I read the article like two times, and like, all I could find of it is just—he was saying—I could relate to it a lot, 'cause he was saying the truth to me."

The discussion with Nicolas about the article on bilingualism for the rhetorical analysis paper triggered him to think about his own experiences with ESL classes and school in general. The message he received from school was that he could not do things because he could not speak English well enough:

I thought I had the capacity to do it . . . they don't think we have the capacity to do it, you know. He's like—they think that we cannot learn another language. That's what they think . . . even if I was scared, I would've just honestly loved to go to an English class like a normal person.

Discussing the article with Nicolas brought up his negative impressions about his experiences with ESL. It was noteworthy that Nicolas's previous experiences interplayed with the reading and the assignment that went with it. In other interviews, Nicolas talked about when he arrived in the U.S., and was both nervous and excited about using and learning English, "I was motivated. You know? . . . I was motivated to do something and English wasn't going to stop me." He also indicated that he felt he gave his parents a hard time by not paying attention in school and putting effort into learning English while he was in Mexico, so he also wanted to succeed to show his parents that he could do it:

I was thinking about it and talking to my dad. I said I'm sorry for not being a good kid. He said no, you just go through phases. That's what happened. But this is a big difference, a big switch, so I had to learn English, one, because I wanted to. I had to adapt. I'd say the word is adapt.

As we discussed the Hayakawa article on bilingualism, Nicolas's anger came up about the fact that the school context he was met with did not match his enthusiasm for learning English. Nicolas voiced his interpretation of the article by saying, "He talked about the situation of immigrants, like how we're here and we're trying to learn, and we're not allowed to because we don't know English." The article indicated Hayakawa's stance that bilingual education programs segregate students because of a belief that they

cannot learn in English. Both the part about segregation and the part about not being able to learn English struck a chord with Nicolas. His experiences before college were that he was put into ESL classes that he did not feel helped him and was with other students from Mexico who spoke Spanish. Even his content courses were a lower level track:

The education programs. And he talks about segregation. That's the most that I felt related to it, 'cause they shouldn't put us apart, man, they don't put us in the classroom. . . . Yeah, and the other peers, they felt segregated 'cause the other peers were having these classes in English and all that, and they were all having Spanish or something like that. He has a point about that. He has a point about how you cannot learn English if you don't practice it as much as you can.

Although some aspects of the writing instruction Nicolas received reinforced his previously developed ideas about writing as a rule-learning activity, the instructor asked students to engage in writing tasks in which they drew on their knowledge about social issues, and a U.S. audience. The rhetorical analysis assignment in many ways assumed that a piece of writing is structured in a way to lead an audience to a specific conclusion rather than allowing an audience to weigh evidence and come to an independent conclusion. Discussing the article on official English in the U.S. highlighted the interrelationship between Nicolas's personal experiences and background knowledge in constructing an understanding of the article. The assignment required much more than following a set of rules in order to complete it. It required understanding Nicolas's own perspective on the topic and thoroughly examining how the article impacted him and how it might impact the intended audience. Nicolas pointed out that he understood the article on one level, but he knew that he still needed to key into other aspects of it:

To me, as soon as I read it, I was like, "Wow!" you know? And now, I read it three times, but I don't really pay attention to the little things, the little things are the things that kill me, but the big picture is there.

Although Nicolas pointed out that much of what the instructor had them do in class was “about reading and understanding” and the tutorials were more for dealing with grammatical rules, as he put it, “the rules that I already—that I’ve just gotta implement,” after reading the article three times he still did not feel that he had a good handle on the rhetorical devices used in the article. I brought up points to challenge the article. For example, I read the following sentence out loud, “At times, these have come dangerously close to making the main goals of this program the maintenance of the immigrant child’s native language, rather than the early acquisition of English,” and commented, “To me, in saying ‘it’s dangerously close,’ I mean, that word ‘dangerously,’ makes it sounds like it would be really bad.” Nicolas connected that with a discussion about rhetorical devices from his class, “Oh, ‘cause we went through this, too. Like twist the words . . . those are rhetorical devices.” About halfway through the interview, he said, “Yeah. I’m kind of disagreeing now, now that I see through the article, I’m kind of disagreeing.”

Nicolas was extremely confident about his reading skills in both English and Spanish. However, after he read and we discussed the assigned article *Bilingualism in America: English Should Be the Official Language*, he said “I get the big picture, the little things are the things that kill me.” His self-reported language profile indicated that he was dominant in his L1, Spanish, and he was an emerging balanced bilingual. It appeared that in doing the reading, he employed a reading strategy where he focused on the big picture rather than the details and related the content to his personal experiences. These strategies were likely effective for him, but as the experience with the bilingualism article pointed out, he needed to also focus on details in his readings, which he was also aware of.

Nicolas's strategy of relating reading to personal experiences led him to construct an understanding of the article that did not take into consideration broader discourses related to the English-only movement, immigration, and bilingual education that were relevant to consider in order to understand the way the article used rhetorical devices to lead readers to construct a specific understanding. This highlights the importance of, as Rallin pointed out, starting with "the student's own reality . . . starting with but moving beyond local worlds, making connections, and constantly negotiating with the global" (Rallin, 2004, p. 149), irrespective of those broader discourses or of my own interpretation of the article.

Nicolas's path of learning to write, both before and during college, focused predominantly on learning to write standard English. Much of the writing instruction he received focused on using standard grammar, both in Spanish and in English, and on perfecting the mechanics of writing. The rhetorical analysis assignment contained the phrase, "Your opinion is not important," and it represented a tension that had been present throughout Nicolas's development as a writer. If Nicolas's opinion was not important, presumably it was important to practice using rhetorical devices, and constructing arguments, and analyzing others' arguments in a way that is somehow divorced from students' lives as individuals.

Through discussing the article on bilingualism and English-only and the rhetorical analysis assignment, Nicolas demonstrated that his process of understanding the article was filled with his own experiences and memories evoked by what he read in the article. The belief that meaning is inherent in the words of a text leaves little room for encouraging students to explore the meanings they construct of texts and to then "move

beyond local worlds, make connections, constantly negotiate with the global.” For Nicolas, a person who experienced immigration, ESL instruction, and some aspects of bilingual education, and who felt passionate about those issues, the meaning that he constructed about the Hayakawa article was enhanced by his experiences. Starting from the writer/reader and assuming that the writer/reader creates meaning rather than that meaning is inherent in text allows teachers to encourage writers/readers to fully develop their situated understandings of texts and responses to them. Then, the next step is to move outside of their local world to begin to interact with ideas in a broader context. Missing the step of exploring their own worlds makes it difficult to reach out to interact and engage with ideas in a broader context.

Summary of Findings

Additive Versus Subtractive Bilingualism: Age of Arrival, Language, and Education Contexts

The general confidence of study participants regarding language practices in both Spanish and English corresponded with age of arrival, language of educational contexts, and quality of high schools. The early arrivers were generally less confident, while the later arrivers expressed more confidence. Early arrivers experienced lack of continued development and instruction in their home/first language, Spanish. Their experiences with education in the U.S. created a situation of “subtractive bilingualism” rather than “additive bilingualism.” The later arrivers’ experiences with education created a situation of “additive” rather than “subtractive” bilingualism. In general, the early arrivers felt that they were bilingual, but not biliterate. The early and later arrivers did not have opportunities to develop the same types of bilingual/biliterate practices because their

schooling occurred in differing contexts. The early arrivers attended school in English-dominant contexts, and they attended lower-performing, lower-income high schools. The later arrivers attended school partly in Spanish-dominant contexts, and they attended higher-performing, higher-income high schools. The two groups developed different views of language; the early arrivers developed more of a “bilingual” view of language, and the later arrivers developed views of the two languages as being “separate.”

The early arrivers’ descriptions of their experiences with language, literacy, and education before entering the university were characterized by a lack of recognition of their linguistic identities that resulted in struggle and disengagement. The participants continued to speak Spanish with friends and family, but did not continue to develop reading and writing practices in Spanish, thus creating a sense of struggle and disengagement. As they moved from elementary, to middle, to high school, their sense of frustration continued.

The early arrivers perceived that the bilingual education programs were geared more toward gaining English at the expense of Spanish rather than developing both. Diego pointed out that, despite his experiences, he was still bilingual, but did not feel that he was biliterate. None of the participants reported receiving assistance in developing biliteracy at school. Maria was the only early arriver who had the opportunity to develop Spanish reading and writing through her mother’s home instruction, so she was able to develop more biliteracy.

The early arrivers entered all-English environments in middle school, which they said was a struggle. They did not receive instruction that recognized their learning styles and language background. Diego recounted that he learned little in middle school. He

said that he was a “bad student,” taking partial responsibility for not learning. For Jenny and Maria, the lack of Spanish in middle school, or the occasional use of Spanish was particularly salient. Jenny referenced the struggles she had with transitioning from using Spanish when necessary to an English-only environment and her thoughts that Spanish should be used in school. Maria mentioned a teacher who used Spanish in class sometimes, and she liked that and thought it seemed like a good idea for teachers to use Spanish with students who speak the language.

The later arrivals’ early experiences with education consisted of Spanish literacy development. Cristina and Nicolas attended private schools in Mexico, and Diana attended a private high school in Puerto Rico. All three spoke about literacy instruction in Spanish with a focus on rules, grammar, and correctness. In the U.S., Diana felt that she was ahead because of what she had already learned in Mexico, especially in math. At the same time, she saw the language as a barrier in drawing on her learning from Mexico. One positive point of her coming to the U.S. in the fifth grade was that she spoke English, while a negative aspect was that she felt she would always be behind in her writing. Cristina and Nicolas mentioned some ways that their previous experiences in Mexico related to their educational experiences in the U.S. Nicolas also talked about literacy instruction in Mexico that focused on accuracy and rules. Although he did say that he started to write more in middle school in the U.S., he said that the focus in ESL was on mechanics and punctuation. Diana also referred to experiences with writing for meaning and communication. Diana attended all of her pre-university education in Puerto Rico, which consisted of rich literacy experiences in Spanish. Although she began learning English at a young age, she had a complicated relationship with the language.

*High School Contexts and Writing: No Instruction Versus
Preparation for the University*

The early arrivers' perceptions of high school were that it was irrelevant and that they went to "bad" high schools. Diego and Jenny's experience with writing in high school was that they did very little writing. Maria focused on the fact that she did not have opportunities to learn about herself and her community, specifically Mexican culture and history.

The later arrivers reported positive high school experiences and writing instruction that they could apply at the university. Cristina developed the ability to include analysis in her academic papers. Nicolas's accounts also centered on his experiences to get out of ESL and learning to fit in at high school. He learned about including personal experiences in his writing and talked about learning the mechanics of formal academic writing. Diana was more interested in learning English, and had opportunities for developing as a writer in Spanish. She continued her studies at the university in Puerto Rico, where she developed her academic writing skills in Spanish and explored important parts of her identity, religion, and interest in language and literature.

*University Writing Experiences:
Struggle, Boundaries, Blurred Boundaries*

Diego and Maria specifically talked about challenges they perceived in the university resulting from its being a different environment from the Mexican bilingual communities they came from. Both found that the Latina/o Studies courses helped them to find a home in the university where they felt comfortable, less fearful, and more supported.

All of the participants talked about struggling to meet expectations related to grammar. Diana, Diego, and Maria also talked about the fact that they felt that they “should know” grammar and that if they did not, the implication was that they did something wrong. While instructors and others made suggestions to them regarding grammar, the participants maintained that they received little support in learning standard English grammar appropriate for academic contexts. Cristina developed strategies to deal with grammatical issues by seeking help from a support network.

Four of the participants, two early arrivers, Diego and Jenny, as well as two later arrivers, Cristina and Diana, drew on social support networks for writing, vocabulary, cultural, and grammatical information. Furthermore, Jenny and Cristina pointed out that they went to their social support networks rather than to the university writing center because they feared that they would be judged there and that it would be a negative experience. A key issue was that the four participants who drew on support networks wanted to move away from potentially judgmental experiences that they perceived would occur at the writing center, and toward trusting relationships in their social support networks. One participant, Diego, shared a positive experience at the writing center in which his linguistic identity was validated by the writing consultant. Nicolas and Maria talked little about drawing on rich support networks, partly because their support networks focused on other issues: Nicolas focused on sports, and Maria focused on political activism.

Spanish was a part of life at the university for all of the participants. For the later-arriving participants, they used Spanish, but Diana and Nicolas also saw a need to practice and improve their English. Cristina did not see that need, and she did take

opportunities to speak Spanish with her peers. The early-arriving participants, especially Maria and Jenny, voiced an awareness that the university was an English context where it was difficult to use Spanish. Jenny and Diego were especially aware that they were more comfortable with speaking Spanish than reading or writing it.

The fact that Spanish was a part of life for all of the students and, at the same time, the university was perceived as an English context, created issues with code-switching. The later arrivers, especially Cristina and Nicolas, viewed Spanish and English as two separate systems. Cristina worked hard to practice that view, for example, she had a friend read her papers so that there would be no language transfer in her writing. Diana's writing in English consisted of features of transfer from Spanish, and in oral discussions she sometimes code-switched when she did not know a word in English. Nicolas was adamant that Spanish and English must be kept separate, and his perception was that it would be bad if he used any Spanish in his writing. Maria, on the other hand, saw code-switching as useful, and was learning to strategically code-switch in her writing. Diego also saw Spanish as something that could be useful in his writing, and Jenny saw being bilingual as an asset and a resource for communication.

Academic Writing at the University: Identity and Transformation

I explored the participants' experiences with writing and developing as writers by engaging them in discussions about their writing in progress, and listening to and analyzing the stories they told about writing, literacy, language, and education before and during their university experiences. This approach to data collection and analysis enabled me to focus on how the participants represented past experiences in relation to their development as bilingual, immigrant students developing as writers in the university.

Connections to Writing: Intertwined With Literacy Histories

The participants connected to writing politically (by referencing the Latino community and activism), safely (by avoiding sharing certain aspects of their identities, choosing neutral topics, and topics that met perceived expectations), and personally (by referencing personal experiences and stories). The ways the participants connected to writing grew out of their experiences with education, literacy, language, and immigration, and how they represented and understood those experiences.

Stances Toward Writing: Healing, Taking Risks, and Overcoming Obstacles

The participants developed stances toward writing that grew out of their literacy histories by: (a) seeking healing (b) taking risks, and (c) overcoming obstacles.

The participants who connected politically experienced a sense of invalidation as a result of some experiences before the university, and a sense of indignation about that, which led me to view their writing practices as seeking healing.

The participants who connected safely received writing instruction before the university that emphasized connecting to writing through aspects of their personal identities that were salient in their previous context, but not in the writing context at the university in the U.S. For example, Puerto Rican identity was salient in Diana's university context in Puerto Rico, and academic argumentation was salient in Cristina's high school context. They attempted to include aspects of their identities in their writing at the university in the U.S. that they did not include before or that they felt uncomfortable about including, which led me to view their writing practices as taking risks. The participants who connected personally expressed negative experiences with

education that were intertwined with their writing experiences, which led me to view their writing practices as overcoming.

Developing as Writers: Asserting, Expressing, and Negotiating

During my discussion with the participants, they all showed ways in which their experiences developing as writers was continuing in the university. The participants' writing developed in that they: (a) asserted identities in writing (b) took risks to express previously withheld aspects of their identities, and (c) negotiated how to relate their identities to the university context.

The participants whom I saw as seeking healing interacted during discussions of writing and included aspects of their identities in writing in ways that asserted and validated their experiences.

The participants whom I saw as taking risks found opportunities to include aspects of their identities in their writing that they expressed hesitancy about expressing before.

The participants who expressed that they were overcoming experiences grappled with ways to negotiate the context of the university with their previous experiences and ways of connecting to writing.

In general, the earlier arrivers, who experienced more subtractive educational contexts, and lower-performing, lower-income high schools, connected to writing politically, developed a stance of healing, and asserted themselves in their writing. The later arrivers, who experienced more additive educational contexts, and higher-performing, higher-income high schools, connected to writing safely, and developed a stance of taking risks and expressing themselves.

The theme, connecting personally and overcoming is comprised of one early arriver, Jenny and one later arriver, Nicolas. Jenny and Nicolas's writing and writing experiences coincided in some ways with the other two groups, but they also differed, so I created a category for them that encompassed the hybrid nature of their writing and writing experiences. Jenny's experiences are closely related to the other early arrivers. One of the most significant differences in Jenny's writing and how she viewed herself as a writer was that she did not connect politically, as did the other two early arrivers. Another aspect of her experience that differentiated her was that she had taken no Latina/o Studies courses. Nicolas's writing experiences were similar to the other two later arrivers in that he strived to connect safely by closely following what he perceived to be the rules of writing and his teacher's advice. However, he also shared a commonality with Diego and Maria, early arrivers, in that his stance toward writing was to connect to community. He differed, though, in that he expressed no overt political consciousness in his writing as Diego and Maria did.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

This study explored a group of immigrant, Spanish-background university students' literacy histories and university writing experiences and how they related to students' biliterate practices as they developed academic writing practices in English within the context of a large university. Immigrant students represent a wide variety of backgrounds, and in this study I attempted to understand some of the ways that individual backgrounds (e.g., age of immigration and previous educational experiences) related to their language and literacy practices and experiences. Immigrant students are enrolling in universities at increasing rates, however, few studies examine their writing and writing experiences.

Six Spanish-English bilingual, Mexican and Puerto Rican university students, all of whom considered themselves immigrants and were in their first or second year at the university, participated in the study during the spring semester of 2006. Three of the participants were early arrivers and completed all of their schooling in English-dominant/subtractive environments, and three of the participants were later arrivers and completed their schooling partly or entirely in Spanish-dominant/additive environments. I utilized literacy history interviews (Lillis, 2001; Seidman, 1998), text-based interviews (Ivanic & Weldom, 1999; Prior, 1998), student writing in English and Spanish, and other artifacts that participants provided me to construct understandings by combining a narrative inquiry perspective (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) with grounded theory

(Strauss & Corbin, 1997). I analyzed the data by exploring the participants' literacy histories and focusing on their linguistic, literate, educational, and personal backgrounds, which, among other things, took into consideration when they arrived in the U.S., and their high school contexts (low-performing, low-income or high-performing, high-income). I used concepts from narrative analysis to delineate stories the participants told about their experiences (Riessman, 2003). I also drew on concepts from grounded theory, such as open-ended coding, constant comparison, and analytic memos (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to develop themes. I borrowed from Lillis (2001) in analyzing the text-based interviews by coding them and writing analytic memos listing themes and insights along with examples from interviews and writing. I combined the understandings I developed from the literacy history interviews, text-based interviews, student writing, and other documents the participants provided me to develop a framework for understanding the participants' experiences.

Discussion of the Findings

Revised Research Questions

The revised research questions developed for this study are listed below:

1. What are the literacy histories of a group of Spanish-background, bilingual, immigrant undergraduates in their first years at a U.S. university?
2. What issues relate to their writing and writing experiences at the university?
3. How do these students understand themselves as writers? What kinds of texts do they produce?

I organized the discussion of findings to address each of the research questions. In the first section, I address research question #1 by describing and discussing stories from

the students' literacy histories related to immigration, language, education, and literacy. I address question #2 by focusing on the participants' experiences with writing in the university, and I included discussions of the following themes: campus climate, grammar, support networks, speaking Spanish, and language mixing. I then address question #3 by describing and discussing stories from the participants' literacy histories and how they interrelated with their university writing and writing experiences.

Research Question #1

What are the participants' literacy histories?

The findings of the present study grow out of a sociocultural conceptualization of writing practices and development (Barton, 1994; Gee, 1999; Street, 1984). I use “early arriver” and “later arriver” as broad frames that refer to a constellation of experiences that coalesce in the participants' literate practices in the university (Barton, 1994). I viewed literacy as a set of social practices that are developed within contexts imbued with power relations (Barton, 1994; Gee, 1999; Street, 1984).

The terms “early” and “later arriver” refer to the fact that the participants immigrated, and the ones who immigrated earlier had more experiences with language in subtractive contexts (Lambert, 1975), while the ones who immigrated later had more experiences with language in additive contexts (Lambert, 1975). For example, the early arrivers, Diego, Jenny, and Maria, arrived in the U.S. at ages 2, 3, and 4, respectively. They had lived in the U.S. for the majority of their lives and attended all of their schooling in the US. The early arrivers experienced loss of their home/first language, Spanish, in terms of confidence in a wide range of oral language practices, and they never developed a wide range of schooled literate practices in Spanish. Their experiences with

education in the U.S. created a situation of “subtractive” rather than “additive” bilingualism (Lambert, 1975), in which the context did not support their home language, resulting in loss of or lack of development in their home language as they developed English. The later arrivers, Cristina, Diana, and Nicolas, arrived in the U.S. at the ages of 10, 14, and 20, respectively. They experienced development of their home/first language, Spanish, before coming to the U.S. Their experiences with education in Mexico/Puerto Rico and the U.S. created a situation of “additive bilingualism” (Lambert, 1975), in which the context supported their home language.

The participants’ age at arrival was a key aspect in their histories that shaped language and literacy experiences in relation to power dynamics and dominant discourses about language (Gee, 1999). The early and later arrivers had differing experiences with their first language; the early arrivers did not experience their first language where it was the dominant language of the context, but the later arrivers did. In Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester’s (2003) discussion of their “continua of biliteracy” model, they point out that it is important to “contest the traditional power weighting of the continua by paying attention to . . . actors and practices at what have traditionally been the less powerful ends of the continua” (p. 38). In this study, paying attention to the “less powerful ends of the continua,” where the first language is less dominant, is a key component to understanding the literate practices of the university participants and how they are informed by sociohistoric contexts, language ideologies, and power dynamics (Barton, 1994; Gee, 1999; Street, 1984). The specific context, language ideology, and power dynamic at issue relate to language, and the valuing of the dominant language of

the U.S., English, over a minority language, Spanish, creating a context of subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975).

The findings related to the participants' literacy histories are discussed in the following sections: subtractive educational experiences; additive educational experiences; working-class, urban high schools: low expectations and limited opportunities; middle-class, suburban high schools: high expectations and expanded opportunities; linguistic affiliation and identity; age of arrival in relation to the participants' L1 background and university courses.

Subtractive Educational Experiences

The early-arriving participants did not experience a school environment that validated their home language and culture. Their experiences in elementary and middle school created a sense of struggle and disengagement at times.

Age of arrival and education in the L1 are two aspects of the participants' literacy histories that related to their degree of bilingualism and biliteracy (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2003). Several researchers from different theoretical approaches have demonstrated that ELLs in elementary schools can and do draw on their bilingual and bicultural identities as they develop writing abilities in English (Aidman, 2002; Buckwalter & Lo, 2002; Edelsky, 1982; Valdés, 2001). With the exception of Maria, the other two early arrivers indicated that they had few recollections of opportunities to build on and draw on their bilingual and bicultural identities as they developed writing abilities in English.

None of the early arriving participants felt that they received assistance in developing biliteracy at school, but Maria's mother provided instruction for her at home.

Like the parents in Aidman's (2002) case study who helped their child to develop literacy practices in the home language, Russian, Maria's mother helped her develop literacy in her home language, Spanish. Aidman showed that the development of literacy practices in the child's home language enhanced her development of literacy practices in English. Maria's opinion was that she liked to read and write partly because of the work her mother did with her in developing Spanish literacy. She also thought that her sister did not like reading and writing partly because her mother did not work with her in Spanish. Maria pointed out that all of her Spanish literacy instruction took place in the home.

Home literacy instruction in the L1 may play a role in downplaying the effects of a subtractive environment at school. It could be that Maria's experience with Spanish home literacy instruction reflects what Valdés (2001) pointed out in her study, that students who had more advanced literacy skills in Spanish did not have to receive instruction to transfer skills to English. Edelsky (1982) carried out research with Spanish-English bilingual children in which their knowledge of writing in Spanish was applied to writing in English, a phenomenon that could also help explain Maria's greater biliteracy and confidence in Spanish and English as compared to Diego and Jenny. Although Maria's schooling took place in an English-dominant, subtractive (Lambert, 1975) context, she considered herself to be Spanish-dominant, and she reported more confidence in Spanish and English literacy than did the other participants (Diego and Jenny), whose schooling also took place in an English-dominant, subtractive context (Lambert, 1975). Maria's greater degree of biliteracy could be attributed to out-of-school experiences with her first language at home, as was the case in Aidman (2002). This interpretation makes sense in light of research by Buckwalter and Lo (2002). In their

study of the emergent biliteracy development (Chinese and English) of a 5-year-old boy, they found that even languages with very different orthographies share aspects of literacy development and that children can transfer knowledge of literacy in one language to developing knowledge of literacy in another.

Use of Spanish can also be beneficial in later grades. In middle school, two of the three early-arriving participants, Diego and Jenny, struggled to enter all-English environments. Diego reported being disengaged and acting out. Jenny struggled with the transition from Spanish support to all English. Maria recounted that she had an instructor who used Spanish occasionally and that it had a positive affect on her.

Diego reported an experience in middle school with an extended writing project in which the students were to write a memoir. He indicated that he did not like the project, was not engaged, and received a low grade. De la Luz Reyes (1991) reported in her work on process approaches to literacy instruction with dialogue journals and literacy logs that it is important to adapt activities so that they are appropriate for the students' linguistic, educational, and social backgrounds. She found that when students were allowed to write in Spanish about topics that they chose, their writing was longer and more complex. In Diego's case, he explained that he wrote in English from a list of topics that the teacher provided. In light of Reyes' research, Diego's disengagement with the instruction and resulting low grade could be interpreted as resulting from the fact that the instruction was not linguistically and culturally appropriate. McCarthy, García, López-Velásquez, Lin, and Guo (2004) also found that when English language learner students were asked to write about topics that the teachers selected for them, this sometimes caused confusion and resistance in the students. McCarthy et al (2004) found that when the students'

bilingual and bicultural identities were not recognized and valued, they found ways to resist instruction and exercise agency. Diego did not report to me accounts of exercising agency to express and to draw on his bilingual and bicultural identity in his elementary school experiences, rather he reported the instances of disengagement that may have been due to linguistically and culturally inappropriate instruction.

Diego's focus on his disengagement rather than on examples of exercising agency or resistance seems to relate to his account of his experience with bilingual education and the disappointment I sensed that stemmed from receiving the implicit message "forget this language and let's move on." By the time he arrived in middle school he already felt cheated, and as Delpit (1995) pointed out, "this sense of being cheated can be so strong that the student may be completely turned off to the educational system" (p. 32).

McKay and Wong's (1996) and Hunter's (1997) research are instructive in understanding Diego's middle school experiences. McKay and Wong's (1996) research emphasized the identities of middle school students and how they interrelated with school contexts and literacy development. They explored the ways in which immigrant students were situated in contexts that affected their development. They found that cultural, racialized, gendered, social, and academic discourses influenced student agency and investment in the classroom. They emphasized that it is important to take a contextualist perspective in order to understand second language literacy development. Hunter (1997) argued that the immigrant child in her study continued to maintain an identity as a "deficient" student because of the conflicting school, peer, and family identities that he negotiated. The child wanted to align himself with the other boys in the class, but also did not want to break school or family rules. The result was that he was sometimes

disengaged, and often did not write, or left texts unfinished, which constrained his writing development. Diego, in particular, talked about disengagement, acting out, and receiving a low grade in middle school. As McKay and Wong (1996) and Hunter (1997) pointed out, a school context that is at odds with students' individual and home lives can create a situation in which students are disengaged. Diego's school experiences were characterized by disengagement that may have related to his school contexts being at odds with his home life. Diego's experience coincides with Peyton, Staton, Richardson, and Wolfram's (1990) research that indicated that ESL students are more likely to explore topics and demonstrate a wider range of their writing abilities in self-chosen topics in which writing is carried out for a genuine purpose rather than only for a grade.

McCarthy, García, López-Velásquez, Lin, and Guo's (2004) study of fourth and fifth grade ELL students found that the students had many opportunities throughout the school day for writing. The earlier-arriving participants did not report rich opportunities for writing. McCarthy et al (2004) also found that students in their study were encouraged to write in their native languages only in native-language classrooms. The earlier-arriving participants reported few opportunities to write in Spanish or explore their linguistic and cultural identities.

Although the early arrivers' experiences with education consisted of many experiences with linguistically or culturally irrelevant instruction, Maria recounted a positive experience. She mentioned a middle school teacher who sometimes used Spanish in class. She liked the teacher's use of Spanish and thought it was a good idea for teachers to use Spanish with students who speak the language. Maria's teacher's use of Spanish is consistent with practices that have been reported in the literature that support

Latino English language learners in school, such as using the students' native language for instruction (August & Hakuta, 1997).

Additive Educational Experiences

The later-arriving participants, Cristina and Nicolas, experienced some of their schooling in contexts that validated their home language and culture, and Diana completed all of her K-12 education in such a context. Cristina and Nicolas attended private schools in Mexico, and Diana attended a private high school in Puerto Rico. Cristina, Diana, and Nicolas talked extensively about early literacy instruction in their first language, Spanish. All three of the later-arriving participants talked about literacy instruction in Spanish with a focus on rules, grammar, and correctness. Diana also referred to experiences with writing for meaning and communication. Cristina and Nicolas's reports of their experiences with literacy in elementary school in Mexico illustrated findings reported by Jimenez, Smith, and Martinez-Leon (2003). Jimenez and colleagues conducted research on literacy instruction with Mexican teachers in Mexico. They found that the teachers emphasized how the children's writing should look and the extent to which their writing was spelled correctly and conformed visually to the standards of the classrooms.

Diana's recollections consisted of rich literacy experiences in Spanish, and she began learning English at a young age, but had a complicated relationship with the language from a young age. Zentella (2000) discussed the history of the presence of the U.S. and the English language in Puerto Rico. She discussed the "language problem" (p. 140) and how it is framed as being resolved as English only if Puerto Rico is a U.S. state, or Spanish only if it is independent. As a territory, Zentella contends, Puerto Rico

has not had a consistent language. Diana was very articulate about the situation in Puerto Rico, explaining the language situation in much the same way as Zentella did in her chapter.

Cristina and Nicolas's experiences with ESL in middle school did not encourage them to build on their previous experiences with education in Mexico, which was frustrating for them. In general, they did not talk about feelings of frustration and disengagement related to school as much as the earlier arriving participants did. The later-arriving participants all felt positive about their high school experiences and thought that they had learned important skills to help them develop as writers.

In the U.S., Cristina felt that she was ahead because of what she had already learned in Mexico, especially in math. At the same time, she saw the language as a barrier in drawing on her learning from Mexico. She felt that there were pros and cons to her coming to the U.S. in the fifth grade: a pro was that she learned to speak English well; a con was that she felt like she would always be behind in her writing. Nicolas said that he did not like the ESL instruction he received in middle school because he felt that his teachers treated him like he did not know anything. Although he did say that he started to write more in middle school in the U.S., he still said that the focus was on mechanics and punctuation. Valdés (2001) pointed out that schools need to teach strategies so that immigrant students can build on the existing knowledge that they bring with them. Nicolas's experiences especially relate to Valdés (2001) in that he described his middle school ESL experience as filled with worksheets and grammar.

Working-Class, Urban High Schools: Low Expectations and Limited Opportunities

All of the early arrivers, Diego, Jenny, and Maria, described their high school experiences as irrelevant, and they described their schools as bad high schools. Their experiences coincide in many ways with Godina's (1998) findings that Spanish-speaking high school students found activities in English courses boring and irrelevant because teachers did not recognize and build upon the literacy practices that the students engaged in at home. In Godina's study, the school was, in general, not a positive environment for the students' language and literacy development, partly because no bilingual materials were available, and the use of Spanish was discouraged. The early-arriving students also reflect Godina's study in that they reported that school, especially high school, was irrelevant, and was not a place where Spanish was used or valued.

Diego and Jenny also characterized their high school experiences as irrelevant because they did very little writing. Their experience is similar to what Harklau (1994a) concluded, that little emphasis was placed on reading a range of materials and writing valued academic genres in lower-track, mainstream classes. All three of the early arrivers felt that their high schools were bad, and they described frustrations. Diego was frustrated with the irrelevances; Maria voiced her frustration about not learning about Mexican culture and history and the rude staff; Jenny relayed stories in which she received negative messages about her writing, that it was "garbage." González, Plata, García, Torres, and Urrieta (2003) provided accounts of immigrant students' experiences with negative school environments, which had many similarities with the early arrivers in the current study. Diego related that he was taken off guard by a comment by one of his teachers who, after reading one of Diego's well-written papers, said that he hadn't

thought Diego cared about the course. This echoes research that has shown that schools and teachers often have low expectations of Latino, immigrant, and Spanish-speaking students (Garcia, 2001; Monkman, Ronald, & Theramene, 2005)

Maria focused on the fact that she did not have opportunities to learn about herself and her community, specifically Mexican culture and history. Lucas, Henze, and Donato's (1990) research described characteristics of high schools that were successful in educating language minority students. They pointed out the importance of valuing students' languages and cultures by learning about students' backgrounds and histories and providing coursework and activities geared toward them. Marias's frustration reinforces the importance of valuing students' cultures and languages in schools (Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; August & Hakuta, 1997).

Middle-Class, Suburban High Schools: High Expectations and Expanded Opportunities

All of the later-arriving participants generally had better experiences in high school. Cristina felt positive about her experiences. She received writing instruction that was beneficial for her when she came to the university and participated in extracurricular activities. According to Lucas and Henze's (1990) study that analyzed features of high schools that successfully supported Latino, language-minority students, much of what Cristina reported fit what the authors found. One of Lucas and Henze's findings was that the high schools hired minority staff, and provided programs to support students in applying to college. A similar situation existed at Cristina's school, where one of the Latina faculty members (who ran the school's Hispanic Women's Club) helped her with her university application process. Also, Cristina was challenged in her classes and

expected to read literature and develop her ability to include analysis in her academic papers.

Nicolas also felt positive, in general, about his high school experiences. Harklau (1994b) pointed out that schools function not only to transmit information and knowledge, but also as sites where youth develop friendships, participate in extracurricular activities, and learn about future career and educational opportunities. Harklau (1994b) and Godina (1998) found that opportunities for these types of peer interaction and activities, as well as academic counseling, differed for ESL and mainstream students. Their findings reflect Nicolas's experience in that his high school experiences changed markedly after he got out of ESL and joined the soccer team. The transition was positive for him, but at the same time it was difficult because his peers who were in ESL felt that he was different when he started hanging out with the white kids. Nicolas's experience is similar to what Fordham and Ogburn (1986) described as "acting white." In their work, they described experiences of some African-American students in their study school who viewed school behaviors associated with white Americans as not appropriate for them. They explained that for some African-American students, their collective identity as part of African-American culture was very important to them since white America excluded them from many opportunities. For this reason, when individuals engaged in behaviors associated with white America, they were viewed negatively as "acting white."

Nicolas's account centered a great deal on his getting out of ESL and learning to fit in with the mainstream classes, and the white kids. His desire to get out of ESL courses because he saw them as too simplistic and mainly providing instruction through

worksheets coincides with findings from Godina's (1998) study in which most of the students were placed in low-track, mainstream English courses that focused on discrete reading and writing skills. Furthermore, as Harklau's (1994a) research pointed out, ESL courses often act as tracking for linguistic minority students and they have difficulty getting out of ESL. Nicolas's experience coincided with what Harklau (1994a) reported in her study where she found that high school ESL teachers provided predominantly mechanistic writing instruction and decontextualized reading instruction. Nicolas was acutely aware of such a situation in his experience, and he worked hard to get out of ESL, and was eventually successful.

In Nicolas's mainstream English class he learned about including personal experiences in his writing and he also talked about learning about the mechanics of formal academic writing. His teacher encouraged him to draw on his personal experiences in his school writing, and he enjoyed doing so, and he even engaged in his own personal writing. It seemed that Nicolas was beginning to grapple with some of the expressivist functions of writing, as Smagorinsky (1997) identified in his research with a high school writer.

Diana had a good experience in high school in Puerto Rico, both academically and socially. She became more interested in learning English than she previously had been, and had good opportunities to develop as a writer in Spanish. She continued her studies at the university in Puerto Rico, where she had further opportunities to develop her academic writing skills in Spanish and explored important parts of her identity, religion, and interest in language and literature. In Zentella's (2000) discussion of Puerto Ricans' experiences with education, she explained an example of the antagonistic

relationship of the U.S. toward Puerto Rico and Spanish on the island. She commented that Puerto Rico's first U.S. commissioner of education characterized Puerto Rican Spanish as a "patois" with "no literature." Diana's experiences with the Spanish language almost seemed to be in opposition to that discourse. Diana had a love of the Spanish language, she studied Spanish when she enrolled in the university in Puerto Rico, and she read Puerto Rican literature, including what is considered to be the first Puerto Rican novel, *La Charca*, and others, like *La Baúl de Miss Florence*. Mazak (2007) pointed out that some of the language policies in Puerto Rico that were designed to promote English at the expense of Spanish had the reverse effect because the policies caused people to develop more pride in their language.

It is interesting to note that Zentella (2000) referred to the "language problem" and in my discussions with Diana, she referred to the "identity problem." When Diana came to the U.S. mainland, she encountered U.S. discourses that brought to the fore the political position of Puerto Rico, making Diana feel that she was in a liminal space for the first time. In Puerto Rico, Diana experienced pride in her language and culture, and in the U.S., those outlets were not as readily available, and her identity was questioned. She said that she felt she was in two places at the same time, and it disrupted her identity.

Language Affiliation and Identity

Out of the three early arrivers, Jenny was the only one who expressed that English was her dominant language; Diego identified both as his dominant language, and Maria identified Spanish as her dominant language. As Nero (2005) pointed out,

The historical aggression *vis-a-vis* Mexico has engendered feelings of ambivalence (or even resistance) from many natives of these countries towards mainstream U.S. culture, which is often manifested in speaking Spanish or Hispanised English in public as a means of asserting ethnic distinctiveness.

It may be that Diego's and Maria's identification with Spanish as a dominant language was related to their desire to assert their ethnic identity as they perceived sometimes antagonistic attitudes toward their ethnic identity, especially language in school. They both experienced school before the university as irrelevant, and the university as sometimes antagonistic toward their perspectives, and they viewed both contexts as unwelcoming of their Spanish-language backgrounds.

One of the three later arrivers, Cristina, indicated that English was her dominant language, while Diana and Nicolas, indicated that Spanish was their dominant language. Cristina seemed to enjoy learning English from a young age, but Diana and Nicolas talked about ambivalence about the language. For Nicolas, ambivalence seemed to stem from the fact that English did not seem relevant to him as a middle school student in Mexico. For Diana her ambivalence stemmed from the fact that English was an imposed language in Puerto Rico. As Nero (2005) pointed out, "the quasi-colonial relationship in regard to Puerto Rico or the historical aggression *vis-a-vis* Mexico has engendered feelings of ambivalence" (p. 197), which is similar to what Diana described feeling growing up in Puerto Rico. It may also have something to do with Nicolas's ambivalence toward English as a child in Mexico as well.

Age of Arrival, LI Background and University Writing

The earlier-arriving participants attended all of their school in English-dominant settings in the U.S. that they felt did not validate their home language, Spanish. The later-arriving participants attended a portion, or in the case of Diana, all of their pre-university education in Spanish-dominant contexts. The earlier-arriving participants indicated that

they were generally less confident about their Spanish and English abilities, and the later-arriving participants indicated that they were generally more confident.

Thomas and Collier (1997) showed that immigrant students who arrived in a U.S. school system between 8-11 years old who had received at least 2-5 years of instruction in their first language in their home country, and without already having exposure to instruction in English were able to attain scores at grade level in reading, language arts, social studies, and science standardized tests after 5-7 years of schooling in the U.S. Children who arrived at age 7 or younger, who had little or no education in their first language in their home country required 7-10 years or longer to reach grade-level norms. Collier (1987) showed that immigrant students who arrived between 12-15 years old did not attain scores at grade level even after 4 years of schooling. The varying performance of the students at the three grade levels related to their educational background in their first language. Since all of the students arrived in the U.S. without already knowing English, they had to acquire enough English to use it to learn through English. The 8- to 11- year-old group had experience with language and literacy in school in their first language, and they were able to transfer what they learned to the U.S. context. The children who arrived under 7 years old had no previous experience with literacy in their first language, and so they did not have opportunities to transfer previous learning to the U.S. context, which accounted for why it took longer for them to reach grade-level norms in the U.S. Collier (1987) used the threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1981) to explain the difference in performance between the children under 7 and the 8- to 11-year-old group. She explained that her results, along with Cummins' work, provide evidence for the importance of L1 literacy and cognitive development in the first language. The 12- to 15-

year-old students had educational background in their first languages and L1 literacy, however, the cognitive demands of high school made it difficult for them to learn enough English quickly to be able to keep up with high school topics.

Thomas and Collier's work is not exactly comparable to the current study; however, it is useful to examine the results of the current study in light of their work to gain more understanding of how useful age of arrival and education in the first language are to academic success. Thomas and Collier compared students' acquisition of grade level norms, and in this study students' ACT scores can be compared since all the students took the ACT. I did not directly ask the participants what their ACT scores were, but I know the average ACT scores of the high schools they graduated from, I know the ACT cut-off scores for the composition courses in which they enrolled, and I know that 3 of the participants participated in academic support programs for students who did not meet the minimum admissions requirements of the university.

In the current study, the participants fell into two groups, early arrivers, who arrived between 2-4 years old, Diego Jenny, and Maria, and later arrivers, who arrived between 10-20 years old, Cristina, Nicolas, and Maria. Thomas and Collier (1997) analyzed three age ranges of children: under age 8, 8-11, and 12-15. First, I will look at the later arrivers in my study. Cristina arrived at age 10 and she conformed to what Thomas and Collier (1997) predicted for their 8- to 11-year-old age range, in that she graduated from high school and was placed in the advanced composition course, for which the cut-off ACT score was 21, which is above the state average of 20.1. Cristina was similar to Thomas and Collier's (1997) 8- to 11-year-old group of students who had reached a threshold in their learning to be able to take advantage of their previous L1

educational experiences as they learned in English. Nicolas arrived at age 14, and he conformed to what Thomas and Collier's (1997) predicted for their 12- to 15-year-old age range in that he was placed in a lower-level composition course for which the cut-off ACT score was 19 or below, which is below the state average. Nicolas's profile was similar to what has been described as a generation 1.5 student (Harklau, Losey, & Siegal, 1999). Unlike the students in Thomas and Collier's (1997) study, Cristina and Nicolas had already studied English in school before arriving in the U.S., which is a difference that gave them a greater advantage over the participants in Thomas and Collier's (1997) study. Diana's profile is different from the other two later arrivers since she arrived at the age of 20 and completed her entire education in a Spanish-dominant context. Diana's profile is similar to that of an international student (Harklau, Losey, & Siegal, 1999), and she took an ESL writing course. She was different from Thomas and Collier's (1997) 12- to 15-year-old students and from Nicolas because she graduated from high school in her home context, Puerto Rico, using her first language, Spanish, and she learned English in school. In the university in the U.S., Diana transferred what she learned to the U.S. context as she improved her English.

Considering the earlier arrivers in the current study, they arrived before school age, and they fit with Thomas and Collier's (1997) predictions for the 7-and-under age range in their study. In Thomas and Collier's study, the children were not literate in their first language, and it was more difficult and took longer for them to attain grade-level performance compared to the other age groups in their study. This may characterize the early-arriving participants in the current study as well. The early arrivers, Diego, Jenny ,and Maria, attended all of their schooling in subtractive contexts in which English was

developed at the expense of Spanish (Lambert, 1975). Jenny's experience seems to conform to what Thomas and Collier (1997) predicted because when she enrolled at the university, she was placed in a lower-level composition course for which the cut-off ACT score was 19 or below, which is below the state average of 20.1. Furthermore, she was required to participate in Transitions, a summer academic preparation program for students who did not meet the minimum entrance requirements of the university. Students with a score of 15 or lower on the ACT are required to participate in the program.

Like Jenny, Diego was required to participate in the Transitions program. However, unlike Jenny, after completing the summer program, Diego was placed in the most advanced composition course, for which the cut-off score was 21. This seems to indicate that the summer program helped Diego to improve his writing.

Maria also participated in an academic support program. Maria participated in Collective, a competitive scholarship program that aims to promote access to college for urban youth from diverse backgrounds. Maria was placed in the mid-level composition course for which the cut-off score was 20, which is the state average. The ACT cut-off scores of the courses in which Jenny, Diego, and Maria enrolled do not reflect their ACT scores because they were placed in the courses based on other criteria since they did not meet the minimum entrance requirements of the university, an ACT of 18 or 19.

The findings discussed in relation to research question #1 delineate investigated aspects of the participants' literacy histories that informed their writing and writing experiences in the university. Educational contexts, consisting of subtractive/additive and lower performing, lower income high school/higher performing, higher income high schools were the components of the broader context that were presented that related to

the participants' language and literacy experiences. Those contexts reflected broader societal ideologies of English monolingualism that affected the participants' language and literacy development as well as educational experiences.

The participants' ages of arrival and educational contexts related to their degree of bilingualism and biliteracy. The use of Spanish can be beneficial for students in all grades, and it is important to maintain and develop the home language in order to transition successfully to college. For the participants who experienced subtractive contexts, home literacy instruction may play a role in downplaying the effects of the subtractive environment.

In addition to first language maintenance, class issues also played an important role in the participants' experiences before college. Participants who attended lower-income, lower-performing urban high schools experienced low expectations, and received less writing instruction. The participants who attended higher-income, higher-performing suburban high schools were expected to learn demanding material, and develop writing skills in order to be successful in college.

The components of the participants' literacy histories, some associated with early arrivers, some with later arrivers, some common to all the participants, and some unique to individuals, mediate their writing and writing experiences in the university context. The stories from their literacy histories contextualize their university literacy experiences and highlight broader social processes that they are connected to, such as English monolingualism, and class.

Research Question #2

What issues relate to the participants' writing and writing experiences at the university?

In this section, I provide empirical documentation of the different approaches that the early- and later-arriving participants had with exercising agency in order to draw on and express their linguistic and cultural identities. I draw on a broad definition of agency put forth by Ahearn (2001) in which she states that “agency is the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (p. 112), and Bakhtin’s conceptualization of language as dialogic (1986) in which texts are shaped by contexts and composed of what he calls utterances, addressees of which can be physically present, dispersed, historical, or future. Each utterance is one part of a complex of utterances, none of which has meaning by itself, but which derives meaning from an array of interconnections. The findings discussed in this section show how the participants’ literacy histories and the university context informed the participants’ acts of agency to express or not to express their cultural and linguistic identities.

Struggling to Meet Expectations in Grammatical Usage

All of the participants in this study focused on grammatical issues in their writing. The early arrivers, in particular, reported a long history of mechanistic literacy instruction, with little focus on writing for communication. Samway (1993) reported data about elementary- and middle-school-aged students’ evaluations of writing. The participants in her study focused their evaluations on meaning and craft, which was attributed to the fact that the teachers in the classrooms promoted writing as a highly valued form of communication. It could be that the participants’ problems with grammar were partly a legacy of previous instruction that did not emphasize writing for communication.

In a review of research on grammar correction, Truscott (1996) concluded that it is generally not productive for writing teachers to provide feedback on grammar issues because it is ineffective. Ferris (1999) argued against Truscott's claims because she said that he overemphasized the evidence against grammar feedback. She wrote that research exists that lends credence to his claims, but that it is vastly inadequate to be able to determine that teachers should not provide any grammar feedback, especially in light of what is known about learners' different backgrounds referring, in particular, to immigrant and international students' differing intuitions and experiences with language. Research by Ferris (1995a) suggested that grammar feedback can be useful. Ferris and Roberts (2001) noted that the majority of their participants were immigrant college students. They concluded that these students' extensive exposure to the language provided them with the ability to self-correct many error types in their writing, especially word choice errors. They used Reid's (1998) term "ear learner" to explain why these students were good at correcting their errors. They contended that the resident immigrant writers in their study possibly used teacher feedback as a guide to help them identify errors in their writing. They suggested that the students were able to tap into unconscious lexical and syntactic knowledge to correct their errors. Ferris and Roberts (2001) contended that the immigrant student writers were likely better able to deal with lexical issues than international student writers due to their exposure to language in natural settings. This contradicts Reyes (1992), who found that immigrant, elementary students often benefited from explicit instruction on their writing. It is possible that immigrant students in college, with more experiences with literacy and education have different needs regarding explicit instruction in writing than do immigrant elementary students.

Cristina's writing provided another way of looking at lexical and syntactic issues in student writing. Two papers that she completed and submitted for grades, a rhetoric paper and an African-American Studies paper, were different in terms of the extent to which they conformed to standard English grammar, or contained transfer features from Spanish. Her rhetoric paper contained roughly one transfer feature per 330 words, and the African-American Studies paper contained roughly one transfer feature per 100 words; the African-American Studies paper contained over three times more transfer features. Ferris and Roberts (2001) interpreted immigrant students' ability to correct errors as evidence that they were tapping into unconscious lexical and syntactic knowledge to correct their errors. That may be part of the story, but since I was able to see these two different examples of Cristina's writing and analyze them from a sociocultural perspective, I drew different conclusions. In Holquist's (1990) description of Bakhtin's theory of language as dialogue, he commented that the theory emphasizes "connections between differences" (p. 41), and so Cristina's two papers that looked different on the surface provide an important window into understanding how she exercised agency in her writing. She reported that she drew on her support network to help her write papers that conformed to her expectations of what the context required, such as when she interpreted the context as requiring a high degree of accuracy in standard English.

Support networks. This study's sociocultural framework, in particular Bakhtin's (1986) concept of addressivity provides an understanding of how the participants in the current study drew on support networks. The majority of the participants, 2 of the 3 early arrivers (Diego and Jenny) and 2 of the 3 later arrivers (Cristina and Diana) drew on social support networks for writing. The participants wanted to move away from

potentially judgmental experiences that they perceived would occur at the writing center, and toward trusting relationships in their social support networks. The participants' literacy histories contained experiences that did not value their languages and cultures and Jenny's background contained some explicitly shaming experiences. Those experiences informed the participants' views of the audiences they addressed in their writing in educational contexts, and they often sought out support from people with similar language and cultural backgrounds who they perceived as more affirming. Pierce (1995) argued that social networks can be powerful because they can give individuals the power to speak. Part of the motivation of the participants in the current study to seek out social networks rather than to rely on university support, such as the writing center, was to seek out opportunities to speak and be validated. Their previous experiences with education gave them the impression that they could be judged if they went to the writing center.

The two students who did not use social support networks as they engaged in academic writing were Maria and Nicolas. Maria had a sense of being on her own, and she seldom reached out to others to assist with her writing. Instead, she said that she had to work harder, and do more independent research in order to keep up with her peers. The way Maria described her experience was similar to how Louie (2009) explained immigrant students' experiences:

The sense of being on their own in the schooling process, without adequate support from parents, teachers, or staff, combined with the sense of being different from the mainstream, is also experienced by both the 1.5 (broadly defined) and second generations (p. 45)

Maria liked writing, and she was interested in developing as a writer in English and Spanish both in high school and college. In addition, she also had home L1 literacy

experiences. It may be that since she liked reading and writing from a young age, she was able to use her own resources to meet the writing expectations in her pre-university contexts, but that strategy become more difficult for in the university context.

Nicolas valued comments from his teacher on his writing and reported going to her for writing advice and assistance. He did not report relying on other people in a support network. Nicolas's experiences coincided with a general trend in Tsui and Ng's (2000) research, in which the students in her study highly valued teacher comments and saw the teacher as an authority figure that they could trust to provide valuable comments. Similar findings were also a part of research by Radecki and Swales (1988). Nicolas's tendency to look primarily toward his writing teacher may be a reflection of his early experiences with literacy in Mexico, which focused on form and correctness (Jimenez, Smith, & Martinez-Leon, 2003).

Facing dominant discourses. Diego and Nicolas both discussed course reading assignments that were problematic in some way. In Diego's rhetoric course, the students read excerpts from Richard Rodriguez's *Hunger for Memory*. He relayed that his peers viewed Rodriguez as a success story, which was antithetical to Diego's view. In Nicolas's rhetoric course, the students read an article intended to stimulate debate about bilingual education, but Nicolas's experience with the article was complex and multilayered, and he did not have opportunities to explore that in class. These two findings reflect the participants' histories of hybrid experiences in which "cultural and linguistic practices, histories, and epistemologies collide" (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Tejeda, 1999). In Crisco's study of a basic writing class comprised mostly of Latino students, she claimed that a student's experience with individual actors in institutional

settings can reinforce “institutional ideas about assimilation” (Crisco, 2004, p. 43). Diego and Nicolas provide another example of how students’ can experience negotiating their backgrounds with the dominant discourse of the university. Similarly, Lillis (2001) described a student’s experience with being discouraged from including her bilingual experiences in her writing, which Lillis interpreted as in line with the discourse of the institution that separated minority issues from the broader institutional context.

Going against the grain or accommodating the context. The current study illustrated differing experiences of the participants before college and how they related to their experiences in college. The early arrivers, in general, did not meet the expectations of academic writing and were required to participate in academic support programs to improve their writing, while the later arrivers were not required to participate in such programs. However, the early arrivers developed more connection to writing and developed richer writing than the later arrivers.

Tarone, Downing, Cohen, Gillette, Murie, and Dailey (1993) suggested that second-language learners who are not literate in their native language before attempting second-language literacy tend to lag behind in literacy skills for a long period of time compared to those who have been to school in their first language and developed literacy skills in that language. They reported that little change took place in the southeast Asian immigrant student participants’ writing skills from eighth grade through the beginning of college. In the current study, two of the three earlier arrivers did not have opportunities to develop biliteracy throughout their educational experiences. The findings in my study coincide with those of Tarone and colleagues’. Two early arrivers in my study, Diego and Jenny, were required to participate in an academic support program that included

instruction in academic writing for students that scored 15 or below on the ACT. Maria also participated in an academic support program for students who did not meet the minimum admissions requirements of the university. The later arrivers who attended higher-income, higher-performing high schools did have opportunities to develop biliteracy. In terms of writing, I looked at the participants' connection to writing and how their connection facilitated developing a thesis and richness in topics. The earlier arrivers seemed to be more adept at that than later ones. I think that the reason for that was because they had more experience going against the grain and connecting with themselves despite the broader context.

Bosher and Rowekamp (1998) contended that the more schooling students completed at the secondary level in their native country the more successful they were in the university context. This is true, to an extent, because students have more experience with L1 literacy. Bosher and Rowekamp (1998) defined success in terms of GPA. However, in the current study, I did not collect information about students' grades. Instead, I collected information about students' connections to writing and how it related to richness in developing their writing. Bosher and Rowekamp (1998) and Tarone et al. (1993) pointed out that access to and education/literacy in the first language are important components of academic development and achievement in college. I agree with that, but I must point out that what studies like Bosher and Rowekamp and Tarone et al do not consider, and what my study did consider, is what happens when students actually do draw upon their bilingual and bicultural identities, which in my study the participants found challenging. Those who had more experience going against the grain, the earlier arrivers, were actually more engaged in drawing on and expressing their bilingual,

bicultural identities at the university than two of the later arrivers, Cristina and Diana. So it is important to add another dimension, which is experience and determination in confronting prejudice, and “support to confront prejudice.”

In my early thinking about my participants’ experiences with language in the university context, I understood their experiences in terms of Bourdieu’s (1990) concepts of habitus and capital. Thought of in this way, the individual students develop a habitus, including linguistic practices, that is developed in conjunction with social structures in the context. In addition, I used Bourdieu’s concept of capital to conceptualize how literate practices might be valued in a specific context, and so the more highly valued practices would be the ones that more successful students would acquire and practice. I was not happy with this way of understanding my participants for several reasons. First, the habitus of individuals and the structures of the context mutually constitute each other, and the process leaves little room for transformation of language and literate practices. Also, the concept of capital assumes that certain types of capital are more valued in the context, but it seems that what constitutes capital and how it would be valued would be a relative concept that would vary by context, and culture.

Rather, I have drawn on ideas that have grown out of Bakhtin’s thinking to understand participants’ writing, writing experiences, and sense of agency in their writing practices. In this section, I discuss findings that reflect participants’ opposition to or, conversely, accommodation of the context. Bakhtin’s (1981) conceptualization of centripetal and centrifugal forces helps to inform an understanding of these findings. Centripetal forces are ones that unify practices; centrifugal forces diversify practices. Accommodating to the context could be seen as a response to centripetal forces, while

going against the grain could be seen as a response to centrifugal forces. Prior (1998) pointed out, though, that it is not as simple as either centripetal or centrifugal because an interpretation of whether a force or action is unifying or diversifying depends on the perspective from which it is viewed.

Language and educational background could be thought of as centrifugal forces because the students in the current study, being bilingual and partially educated in another country, created writing in a context in which the norm predominantly consisted of individuals who spoke English, and who were educated in the U.S. However, whether or not those characteristics are centrifugal depends on the context because within the university, in the subcontext of Latina/o courses, being bilingual and having experiences with immigration are part of the discourse that is valued. Conceptualizing how agency is involved in this process is another important component of this research. Participants who expressed their cultural backgrounds, and used Spanish in their writing may be interpreted as “going against the grain” in one context. I draw on Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom’s (1993) sociocultural approach to agency to conceptualize why some participants did “go against the grain” and some “accommodated to the context.” Ivanic (1998) viewed accommodation and resistance not in relation to a single dominant set of norms in an institution, but rather as writers accommodating or resisting their perceptions of the expectations of individual audiences.

Wertsch and colleagues (1993) viewed individual acts of agency as tied to broader sociocultural contexts and communities. When the participants had a context, for example, a Latina/o Studies course that supported them in exploring and expressing ethnic identity in an affirming way, they could draw on that experience as a symbolic and

mediational tool in other contexts. In that way, the students' communities, mediational tools, and socioculturally situated acts of agency can function to transform their individual literate practices, and they also may potentially be taken up in a variety of ways in the broader community. Seen in this way, writers may be resisting the norms of one context while simultaneously accommodating to the norms of another.

This section shows the importance of looking closely at students' experiences and backgrounds to understand how they may respond to the literacy demands of university contexts. Harklau (2001) pointed out that there is

a need to reconsider the universality of what entering college students find challenging or unique about reading and writing demands. It indicates a need for more contextualized portraits of student experience to ascertain exactly what poses new and challenging tasks for students in various contexts.

Some of the students in this study came to the university from subtractive contexts, and high schools that offered limited opportunities, while others came from additive contexts that offered expanded opportunities, both groups developed unique strengths, as well as areas for growth.

Activism, LLS courses, and community. In Lam (2000) the participant in the study felt marginalized and excluded in his classroom English language experiences. On the other hand, he developed a sense of belonging and validity as a member of an on-line community that he joined. These findings indicate a need to understand the possible disjuncture between students' chosen discourse communities, and literacy use, and the ones that are dominant in school settings. In Lam's study, the participant was able to explore and create his identity in an online community. In the current study, Diego and Maria seemed to engage in similar identity work in their involvement with activism. Diego and Maria both expressed a sense of struggle that arose from the disjuncture

between their personal identities as working-class, bilingual, Mexican immigrants and the dominant culture of the university. They grappled with that disjuncture through their activism, and enrollment in Latina/o Studies courses.

Views of language: Bilingual, monolingual. The early and later arrivers did not have opportunities to develop the same types of bilingual/biliterate practices because their schooling occurred in differing contexts. The early arrivers attended school in English-dominant contexts, and they attended lower-performing, lower-income high schools. The later arrivers attended school partly in Spanish-dominant contexts, and they attended higher-performing, higher-income high schools. The two groups developed different views of language. Those who completed all of their education in an English-dominant context, the language of the broader society but not the language of their homes and local communities, generally developed a more bilingual view of language in which “the boundaries between codes are blurred” (Cahnmann, 2003, p. 188). The participants who completed part or all of their education in Spanish-dominant contexts, their home language, developed a more monolingual view of language which “maintains a more or less firm separation between the use of one code and another” (Cahnmann, 2003, p. 188).

Learning not to value Spanish literate practices. Both the early and later arrivers indicated their views of bilingualism and biliteracy through their responses to the questionnaires that asked them to rate their perceptions of their abilities in both languages. Two of the early arrivers, Diego and Jenny, felt that they were bilingual, but did not feel that they were biliterate. The later arrivers reported being bilingual and biliterate. In addition, Diego and Jenny specifically stated that they felt that they could not write in Spanish. However, in contrast to their stated views, both Diego and Jenny

provided evidence that they could write in Spanish. It may be that they did not recognize their literate practices in Spanish because they did not conform to formal notions of schooled literacy. In their discussions of grammar in which they discussed expectations that they would produce texts that conformed to standard English and their difficulties with that, it showed that their school experiences exposed them to the “twentieth century notion of a single standardized schooled literacy” (Cook-Gumperz, 1986, p. 22). Diego's and Jenny's views that they were not biliterate even though they read and wrote in Spanish conforms to Hornberger's continua of biliteracy model (2003), which claims that minority languages and vernacular languages are at the less powerful ends of the continua. Because of that, Diego and Jenny's literate practices in Spanish fell at less powerful ends of the continua, they learned that they were not valued forms of literacy, and they did not recognize them as literate practices.

The later arrivers had enough education in their first languages to be able to value their practices in Spanish. It is especially notable to consider Maria, an early arriver, who did feel that she was biliterate in Spanish. Her experiences with Spanish differed from the other early arrivers because her mother provided instruction in Spanish literacy in the home, providing her with the “social language” (Wertsch, 1991) of “formal Spanish literacy.” Her experiences with her mother became an important mediational tool (Wertsch, 1991) that she was able to use as she engaged in and developed literate practices in Spanish within a broader context that provided more constraints than affordances in developing Spanish literacy.

Codeswitching. Although the early-arriving participants had few recollections from their K-12 years of building on their bilingual and bicultural identities as they

developed academic literacy in English, they acknowledged that they still did so in some ways and their experiences laid the foundation for how they approached writing. Drawing on their linguistic and cultural resources was a reflexive act, however, it took courage for them to do it since they had not experienced positive validation for it in the past. The early-arriving participants, especially Maria and Jenny, voiced an awareness that the university was an English context where it was difficult to use Spanish. Maria saw code-switching as useful, and was learning to strategically code-switch in her writing, especially in her Latina/o Studies courses. Diego also saw Spanish as something that could be useful in his writing, and Jenny saw being bilingual as an asset and a resource for communication.

The later-arriving participants had spent more time in educational settings in which Spanish was the dominant language and their home language was the valued code in the school. When they were in the situation in the U.S. where English was the dominant language, they tried to accommodate to the context and downplayed aspects of their linguistic and cultural identities that differed from the dominant context in the schools. The earlier-arriving participants had more experience with confronting prejudice in school. The later-arriving participants also had similar experiences with being part of a linguistic and cultural minority in the U.S., but had less experience with dealing with that than did the early arrivers.

The later arrivers, especially Cristina and Nicolas, viewed Spanish and English as two separate systems. Cristina worked hard to practice that view; for example, she had a friend read her papers to make certain there was no language transfer in her writing. Diana's writing in English consisted of features of transfer from Spanish, and in oral

discussions she sometimes code-switched when she did not know a word in English.

Nicolas was adamant that Spanish and English must be kept separate, and was diligent in not using Spanish in his writing.

Role of L1 in L2 writing. The experiences of the students related in some way to Cummins' interdependence hypothesis (1981). When thinking about the role of the L1 in L2/bilingual/biliterate writing at the college level, researchers focus more on translation (Kobayashi & Rinnert, 1992; Uzawa, 1996), transfer and contrastive rhetoric (Kubota, 1998) than on how individuals may use their L1 to facilitate their L2 writing. Some work has also focused on aspects of identity and language as they relate to the role of the L1 in L2 writing (Bean et al., 2003; Lay, 1988). Bean et al. (2003) explored some of the complexities of inviting students to write in home languages. They pointed out that speakers of stigmatized languages, for example U.S. Spanish, may have complicated stances toward Spanish and English; some students may welcome the opportunity to write in Spanish, and some may reject writing in Spanish. Two of the early arrivers in this study who did not have rich experiences with Spanish literacy in the home or school, Diego and Jenny, said that they were not able to write in Spanish. Jenny characterized herself as speaking "nonsense Spanish." Bean et al. (2003) pointed out that students may not reveal their experiences with languages besides English, which was the case with Diego and Jenny. Their characterizations of their Spanish usage sounded like they did not engage in literate practices, because they said they were not literate in the language; however, both of them discussed experiences with reading and writing in Spanish.

The fact that Diego and Jenny downplayed their Spanish literate practices is an indication that they learned from the dominant context to devalue their practices in

Spanish, similar to what Kells (2002) wrote about in her study of Mexican university students. Kells found that students often internalized myths about language, and deficit notions of Spanish in the U.S., which had a negative affect on their success. In the current study, another early arriver, Maria, had more experiences with Spanish literacy than the other early arrivers because of her experiences with literacy instruction in the home. Maria showed that in the university she drew on her Spanish background to add richness to her writing in complex ways. In Lay's (1988) study with Chinese-speaking college students, she showed that students who were proficient in English used their L1, Chinese, to connect with topics and draw on past experiences to create more sophisticated writing. The current study shows that identity plays a role in informing the extent to which students draw on/express bilingual identities in writing. This study also suggests that when students take bilingual stances and draw on biliteracy, it can lend richness to their writing.

However, when students take more monolingual stances and downplay biliteracy, their writing can be more restricted. An example of this was when Diana was brainstorming in English, which can be a useful way for bilingual students to develop ideas for writing (Bean et al., 2003; Friedlander, 1990; Lay, 1988). Although Diana spontaneously engaged in using her L1, Spanish, for brainstorming, she indicated that she switched back to English so that her teacher would be able to understand what she wrote. Diana's experience with switching back to English echoes Bean et al.'s (2003) caution that students who speak stigmatized language varieties (like Puerto Rican Spanish in the U.S.) may have complicated responses to use of their L1 in English-dominant university settings.

Most of the participants in the current study did not readily see connections between writing in English and Spanish. Early arriving and later arriving participants maintained that they could not write in Spanish, but often they said the reason they could not write in Spanish was because they did not know how to correctly use grammatical features, such as accents. Diana, however, did acknowledge that she was able to apply what she learned in one language to her writing in another language. Schleppegrell and Colombi (1997) conducted a study in which their findings supported the notion that ability in one language can manifest itself in performance in another language. Schleppegrell and Colombi claimed that the participants in their study had received no writing instruction in Spanish, and so their Spanish essays reflected strategies they had developed in English. Diana applied much of what she was learning in her ESL writing class to the literature review she was writing in Spanish for a sociolinguistics class. Berman (1994) investigated whether or not Icelandic secondary students transferred newly learned writing skills in Icelandic to their English writing. Berman's study may relate to Diana's experiences with transferring what she learned about writing in Spanish to writing in English in her ESL writing class. Berman suggested that the results of his research indicated that the use of students' first languages can be useful in second language writing instruction. However, students at lower proficiency levels in English were less likely to be able to transfer L1 skills to L2 writing.

Carson, Carrell, Silberstein, Kroll, and Kuehn's (1990) study examined the relationship between L1 and L2 reading and writing of Chinese and Japanese international students in a university setting. They found that the higher the participants scored on L1 reading, the higher they scored on L2 reading, but they did not find similar

trends in terms of writing. They found a weak correlation between L1 and L2 writing for the Japanese students, but no correlation for the Chinese students. They posited that the difference was because the Japanese students had lower proficiency levels in English than the Chinese students. Based on their data, they claimed that teachers may be able to rely on L1 relationships more reliably at lower proficiency levels. In the current study, Diana had the lowest self-reported proficiency in English compared to the other participants, and she talked the most about transferring what she learned about in Spanish to English, as well as transferring what she learned about writing in English to Spanish. Carson et al. (1990) claimed that a relationship existed between effective L1 and L2 writing due to proficiency level in English, and that may be part of the reason for Diana. Another component for Diana was that she had more background to draw on in her first language, Spanish, than did the other participants in this study.

Current literature about the role of L1 in L2 writing at the college level predominantly focuses on students who have a “fully developed” L1. That is to say, the studies include students who have lived in the country of their birth, where their L1 is the dominant language, and their culture is the dominant culture, and attended all of their schooling in their L1. This means that the individuals in these studies are developing along a path of becoming inculcated into conventions of writing, language use, and education that are dominant in their L1 and in their home culture. The issue that is different about the participants in this study is that they represent a range of experiences with the L1, and their educational backgrounds represent a range of experiences. This makes it very difficult to compare the participants in the current study to the findings in other research like Carson et al., which was carried out with international students. In the

current study, Maria had the highest perceptions of her abilities in Spanish and English, and she was the early arriver who wrote the most in both languages.

In Dong's (1999) study, one-third of the participants believed that their knowledge of writing in their first language was a positive influence on their writing in English. Dong's findings are similar to those in the current study in that some of the participants expressed that their first language, Spanish, had an influence on their writing in English.

The findings related to research question #2 demonstrate how the participants' literacy histories informed their experiences in the university and related with the university context. All of the participants grappled with ideologies implicit in developing academic writing in the university. In negotiating the ideologies and developing as writers, the participants struggled with how to use standard English grammar in ways that met expectations, and had some negative experiences in facing dominant discourses. In order to address their experiences in the context, most of the participants, both early and later arrivers, drew on social support networks as they engaged in academic writing.

One of the important ways their histories manifested themselves was that the early and later arrivers connected to writing in different ways. The early arrivers had more experience going against the grain and connecting with themselves despite the broader context than the later arrivers who had more L1 experiences in contexts where their language and culture were reflected more in the broader context.

Another way their literacy histories manifested themselves in their university writing experiences was in their views of language. The early arrivers developed a more bilingual view and the later ones developed a more monolingual view of language. The

early arrivers saw Spanish in a positive light and felt that it could be a resource in communication. The later arrivers tended to view Spanish and English as two separate systems and worked to practice that view in their communication.

The early/late arriver distinction has been used throughout this study; however, it needs to be noted that the distinction may actually obscure some of the richness of the participants' experiences, for example, SES, school contexts, and language use in the home.

Research Question #3

How do these students understand themselves as writers? What kinds of texts do they produce?

Through the literacy histories, discussions about university experiences, and writing, the participants expressed that they sensed that their bicultural, bilingual, biliterate identities often were not recognized or validated. The earlier and later arrivers expressed that experience in different ways, for example, Diego wrote "*Communities like mine are under attack, as I have encountered ignorant opinions on the issue (of immigration) in and out of classroom settings.*" On the other hand, two later arrivers, Diana and Cristina, chose not to write about controversial or personal topics related to their cultural identities, even though they were interested in such topics.

Connecting to writing at the university. I developed themes to create a framework to understand how the participants connected to writing, how those connections were grounded in the participants' histories, the positive and negative aspects of those connections, and how they continued to develop as writers in relation to their previous experiences and the university context.

The participants connected to writing politically (by referencing the Latino community, and activism), safely (by avoiding sharing certain aspects of their identities, choosing neutral topics, topics that met perceived expectations), and personally (by referencing personal experiences and stories).

The ways that the participants connected to writing at the university, politically, personally, and safely reflect, in some ways, their experiences with language and education. Nero (2005) explained ways that linguistic minority students may respond to dominant languages:

Yet, the phenomenon of resistance itself is not absolute—many second- and third-generation Hispanics, even if they harbour resentment towards, or feel isolated from, the mainstream, may choose to speak English and embrace Anglo-American culture and identity in public domains, especially in the classroom, in order to gain public acceptance. In this regard, they recognise what McCollum (1993) calls the ‘cultural capital’ affiliated with the language of power (in this case, English). Still others selectively embrace Anglo and Hispanic heritage, reflected in use of both English and Spanish, aptly characterised by Canagarajah (2000) as the twin processes of resistance and appropriation, which he sees as part and parcel of the postcolonial experience. (Nero, 2005, p. 197)

All of the participants choose to speak and write in English and recognize the “cultural capital” that comes along with the English language. I would not necessarily characterize the participants in this study as selectively embracing Anglo and Hispanic heritage, or engaging in resistance and appropriation. Although that is an aspect of their identities and processes, part of it also is that they are being “normal,” they are being “who they are” by speaking Spanish, expressing their identities, drawing on bilingual and bicultural identities. It is the English monolingual-dominant context that creates an experience of “going against the grain.” The earlier arrivers had more experience with going against the grain and, perhaps, more invested than the later arrivers. This phenomenon could be attributed to the earlier arrivers’ complicated relationship with the U.S. The later arrivers,

however, had more grounding in Mexico and Puerto Rico, and in the Spanish language. In Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) discussion of African-Americans students' academic success, they claimed that African Americans may assert an "oppositional cultural frame of reference" (p. 181). In substantiating their claim, Fordham and Ogbu said that African Americans cannot, "easily escape from their more or less birth-ascribed membership in a subordinate and disparaged group by 'passing' or by returning to 'a homeland'" (Green, 1981, p. 181). Diego, Jenny, and Maria were born in Mexico, and grew up in the U.S. and they did not have the opportunity of imagining a homeland" where they were accepted, as Cristina, Diana, and Nicolas did.

Also, the later arrivers had more experience meeting the expectations of the dominant discourse in an educational setting. So, "going against the grain" at the university was more new for them than it was for the earlier arrivers.

The early and later arrivers drew on different mediational tools (Wertsch, 1991) as they engaged in writing in the university context. The early arrivers could be seen as engaging in practices that wer "oppositional"; for example, using Spanish and expressing pride in immigrant identity are opposed to the dominant discourses of the university context. The early arrivers were able to successfully draw on the language and culture of their communities to mediate their literate practices, even though the former were not highly valued in the university context. The later arrivers, however, had experience with conforming to the dominant discourses of their educational contexts, and so those were some of the experiences that mediated their writing practices in the university context.

Connecting to writing politically. The texts that Diego and Maria produced in the university resonate with Moreno (2002) who explained that "we all have to learn a

standard language, a language that does not necessarily embrace students' multicultural lives . . . as bicultural subjects in institutional locations, we all have to deal with being the other" (p. 224). My findings show that, in opposition to researchers such as Johns (1999), components of expressivist writing are important parts of the process of developing as a writer who can meet the academic demands of the university. In a discussion of a Latino student in a composition class who was negotiating his own experiences and how they relate to those of the university institution in which he was a student, Moreno (2002) wrote "though these negotiations are, of course, discursive and show an emerging critical consciousness, importantly, language humanizes his own experiences, contradicting how the institution emphasized his inadequacies as a writer" (p. 230). A major thread of the story of research question #3 demonstrates how these students exercised agency within the context of their lives and the context of the university in order to understand themselves and develop as writers.

Diego and Maria connected to writing by actively acknowledging and exploring their identities as Mexicans and immigrants. Their experiences are similar to those that O'Connor (1997) illustrated in her study of African-American high school students who maintained and expressed their cultural identities and were aware of racial and class struggles. Her findings are in opposition to Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) findings that indicated that successful African-American students did not express their African-American identity. Like the African-American students in O'Connor's (1997) study, Diego and Maria drew on collective struggle as a tool that aided them in their academic success. Much of what I learned about Diego's experiences in college focused on learning about his experiences and, in some ways, healing from them. For example,

earlier he talked about how at the university he was learning about what “bilingual education really intends to do.”

Canagarajah (2005) examined issues of self in writing and provided examples from studies with Taiwanese, Chinese, and Finnish writers that showed how the cultural context influenced how writers represented themselves as individuals. He cited a presentation by Scollon (1991, as cited in Canagarajah 2005, p. 90) in which he pointed out that “the ‘I’ of Chinese students he taught in Taiwan included the ‘we’. Writers compose to affirm, consolidate, and enhance the thinking and values of the community.” Canagarajah explained that expressive approaches can have a place in academic writing because they help writers “develop a distinctive perspective and voice” (p. 91). He contended that it is not always beneficial to allow the “we” to dominate over the “I” because it can be a way of suppressing critical perspectives. He also cautioned against the American sense of developing the “I” as a way of developing a radical self that can resist dominant discourses.

In the current study, I found that some participants connected to community. When I asked students to participate in the study, they said that they would if “it would help the community,” meaning specifically the Latino community. Also, in students’ writing, in particular Diego’s and Maria’s, students referred to their communities, and they were interested in improving their communities. Their personal experience and educational development at the university were directed toward improving the experiences of people in general in the community. These examples from my study are similar to what Canagarajah (2005) pointed out as a response to the writing contexts in

which students learn to connect to writing through their connections to their communities.

Connecting to writing safely. Expressivist approaches to writing emphasize that writers express an “authentic voice” and that writing is a way of discovering the self (Canagarajah, 2005). Connor (1996) argued that “the expressionist approach to writing about oneself is not fruitful in itself” (p. 74), and the participants in my study confirm that, in some ways. Johns (1999) contended that “the expressivist experience is undoubtedly a pleasure for some students because much of what they write is considered successful and interesting by their composition teachers” (p. 159), although she also notes that Ramanathan and Kaplan (1996) indicated that the expressivist experience may be very difficult for others, quoting them by saying, “voice . . . [is] largely a culturally constrained notion, relatively inaccessible to students who are not full participants in the culture within which they are asked to write” (p. 22). Based on my findings, I agree with Leki (1995), who stated, “surely being a safe refuge is not enough” (p. 256). My findings focus on the assertion that, although a “safe refuge is not enough,” it is necessary and important to provide a “safe refuge” for students to express and explore aspects of their cultural and linguistic identities in writing. Furthermore, to provide “a safe refuge” is not as simple as Leki’s statement may imply.

The experiences of Cristina and Diana point to the importance of opening possibilities for students to talk about themselves in their writing. They expressed that they did not want to write about themselves in their writing. Cristina and Diana connected to writing in ways that were similar to what Fordham and Ogbu (1986) found in their study of African-American students in which they found that some used a

strategy of hiding their racial experiences. Cristina and Diana both utilized similar strategies in their writing, in which they expressed that they preferred neutral topics, and avoided politically charged topics of race and language. In Bean et al.'s (2003) discussion of whether or not to invite students to use their home languages in their writing, they pointed out that it may not feel easy or safe to students to do so. Expressing aspects of their identities seemed to carry with it a component of discomfort or danger for Cristina and Diana.

However, when Cristina was provided with opportunities to share her experience with race, she did so. After having an experience in which she was invited to write about issues of race that was a good experience, she chose to do so again later in the semester in another class. In one course, she wrote about her experience with race as a Latina in the U.S. and further explored experiences of African Americans in this country. Expressivist writing in which students write about themselves can be useful for students like Cristina in that it encourages them to take the risks to connect with issues that are important to them in writing. It helped her to have more to write about and develop thesis statements and develop her writing.

Diana discussed her complex understandings of language, politics, and ideology in Puerto Rico, but said that she would not want to include those ideas in her writing. She felt that her views on those topics were at odds with the dominant view at the university in the U.S., and she did not want to offend anyone, so she preferred to keep her views to herself. She did, however, find ways to discuss those ideas in a detached way in her Spanish sociolinguistics paper. In Ortmeier-Hooper's (2008) study of immigrant, first-year students in a composition classroom, she interpreted "hiding" as an expression of

resentment toward the writing course the student was enrolled in. For Diana, hiding aspects of her identity was a way of resisting taking on the identity that was placed on her in that context. In Puerto Rico she was not othered, in the US context she was, and she was not fully prepared to take on that position. In addition, Diana seemed to be in a difficult position in which she felt that she could not discuss her thoughts on her identity without offending Americans. Her experience was similar to Lillis's (2001) description of a student who grew up speaking Jamaican Creole, who felt that it was difficult to discuss important ideas about racism in a white institution.

For Cristina, her African-American Studies course provided the social language to discuss race openly, which mediated her agency to include aspects of her own experience with race in writing she did for a rhetoric course. Diana expressed her thoughts about language and politics because of the trust she felt for her ESL teacher. In addition, she used academic discourse, which felt more detached.

Connecting to writing personally. Jenny and Nicolas showed a drive to connect to writing through personal experiences and their sense that they had overcome obstacles in their development as writers. They connected personally by referencing life experiences and stories in their writing. Jenny and Nicolas's tendencies to draw heavily on personal experiences in their writing were similar to Spicer-Escalante's (2005) findings in which the Spanish and English writing of Spanish heritage speakers, Spanish native speakers, and Spanish second-language learners were compared. In terms of Spicer-Escalante's framework, Jenny would be considered a Spanish heritage speaker, defined as one who was either born in the U.S., or immigrated at a very young age. Although Nicolas immigrated to the U.S. at age 14, he conformed to Spicer-Escalante's findings about

Spanish heritage speakers, which found that those speakers relied heavily on personal experiences in supporting statements in their writing. Furthermore, like Jenny and Nicolas, Spicer-Escalante found that the Spanish heritage speakers identified themselves with the issues they were discussing and shared personal experiences with the reader, and included more affective appeals.

Spicer-Escalante (2005) showed that the Spanish heritage speakers in her study engaged in practices that were different from the Spanish second-language learners, and the Spanish native speakers. She maintained that the Spanish heritage speakers developed unique characteristics created through a process of transculturation (Pratt, 1998), in which they selectively engaged in practices of the dominant culture and created new practices. Nicolas likely conformed to Spicer-Escalante's notion of Spanish heritage speakers in that the majority of his academic writing instruction took place in the U.S.

In Johns' (1999) discussion of expressivist writing, she wrote that there is a problem with approaches to literacy instruction and development with bilingual, immigrant writers that focus on the students and on "developing individual voice and identity, personal interests, and personal meaning making" (p. 159). She argued that composition instructors need to "help these students acquire a literacy strategy repertoire and develop the confidence that enables them to approach and negotiate a variety of literacy tasks in many environments." I agree with her that students' individual voices and identities cannot be the whole picture, however, my data show that it is important to "start from the students' own realities" (Rallin, 2004, p. 149). The findings in my study lend support to the notion that it is vital to start from students' own realities. For example, Nicolas' experience with relating his course reading and writing to his own experiences

was a strategy he often employed. The strategy of relating his reading and writing to his own experiences was sometimes effective, but sometimes it led him down a path that did not take into account broader discourses that were important in order to fully understand an author's meaning and, hence, the purpose of the writing. Nicolas's sometimes successful, sometimes not-so-successful experiences with relating academic reading and writing to his personal experiences highlight the importance of exploring the competing discourses that his own experiences are a part of and the discourses of texts he is reading and audiences he is writing for.

Nicolas's experience with hybridity (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Tejeda, 1999) and transculturation (Pratt, 1998) also manifested itself in his rhetoric class during the assignment in which the class read an article about bilingual education by Hayakawa. Canagarajah (2005) pointed out that typical questions asked from a "critical thinking" standpoint would be "What reasons/arguments are offered by the writer to present his or her position?," "What problems do you see in this line of reasoning?" (p. 99). This is similar to the approach taken on the assignment sheet for the Hayakawa article. That approach created some difficulty for Nicolas because, as Canagarajah pointed out, "life experience of the student may generate critical insights into issues without someone else having to teach critical thinking" (p. 98). Nicolas was living a hybrid experience (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Tejeda, 1999) in which his experiences with bilingual education and immigration abutted the dominant discourses in the university. He was inclined to grapple with the Hayakawa article in a way that approximated some of Canagarajah's "critical practice" questions such as "What in your social status and experience makes you relate to this subject differently (from the author)?," "How may

your spontaneous/immediate response to this argument display biases that favor your personal interests?” (p. 99). Because of Nicolas’s hybrid experience, he was grappling with the article in ways that were not taken up in his class.

Zamel (1995) reported data related to faculty responses to student writing, and some of the responses characterized student writing as “deficient and inadequate” (p. 507). She found this deficit mindset disconcerting because she thought these responses may have been an indication that language use was being inappropriately associated with intellectual ability. Her main goal in reporting faculty responses was to demonstrate the wide range of perceptions and reactions to these students. In addition to the “deficit model” (p. 510), she also provided interpretations of responses from faculty who demonstrate a “model of possibility” (p. 510). This perspective saw ELLs as providing a fresh perspective, and they felt that these students could enrich the university. Jenny’s reported experiences before coming to the university often exemplified deficit thinking; for example, she reported a discussion with a teacher where she felt that her writing was “garbage.” However, at the university, Jenny reported that she was encouraged to draw on and express her personal experiences, which she found helpful and validating. Jenny and Nicolas’s experiences with connecting personally demonstrate the importance of acknowledging students’ perspectives, and resources for using language, including personal experiences and stories and starting with “the student’s own reality . . . starting with but moving beyond local worlds, making connections, and constantly negotiating with the global” (Rallin, 2004, p. 149).

The findings discussed related to research question #3 demonstrated how the participants’ literacy histories and university writing experiences informed their

understandings of themselves as writers and the kinds of texts they produced. In general, the early arrivers' experiences informed a stance toward writing in which they connected to writing politically, and the later arrivers' experiences informed a stance toward writing in which they connected to writing safely.

In the context of the university, these two groups of participants met with catalysts that encouraged them to develop as writers. The early arrivers, who connected politically, participated in Latina/o Studies courses, which encouraged them to engage in writing that made connections between their personal experiences and political and ideological discourses, which had positive benefits for them. The later arrivers, who connected safely, met with contexts that invited them to share their cultural and linguistic identities, which helped them to take risks in their writing and connect more deeply to writing.

The other group of participants, who connected to writing personally and took a stance of overcoming, consisted of an early arriver and a later arriver. These participants did not have opportunities to come into contact with courses or other contexts that invited them to express their linguistic and cultural identities and connect them to political discourses and ideologies. Their understandings of themselves were characterized by more of a sense of struggle than the other participants, and in their texts they struggled to negotiate their identities with the university context.

Coda

Wolcott (1990) cautions qualitative researchers against including conclusions in their work as they can lead researchers to include statements outside the boundaries of the

research. Instead, I have chosen to include a coda for important remarks about this research. Codas are often written to serve simply as an end-point to research. The term also has a technical meaning in the field of narrative analysis. Labov and Waltezky (1967) used the term in their analyses of narratives in face-to-face interactions to refer to the point at which the end of a narrative is signified by returning to the present. In this coda, my purpose is to “return to the present” and reflect briefly on the research presented in this study. The findings presented here illustrate the participants’ literacy histories, current experiences in the university, and understandings of themselves as writers and the texts they produced. The participants’ literacy histories and the university context mediated the participants’ agency in their writing in terms of language usage, topics, and the extent to which they shared themselves in their writing. Throughout the study I have used age of arrival, early arriver/late arriver, as a way to conceptualize the participants’ range of experiences. However, the richness of the participants’ experiences illustrate that the early/late arriver categorization may be too simplistic. The distinction may actually obscure some of the richness of the participants’ experiences, so it is important to view the early/late arriver distinction as one tool for organizing and understanding the complexity of the participants’ experiences presented here, including: educational context (subtractive/additive), socioeconomic status, high school contexts, and language usage in the family. All of those issues presented in this study represent a constellation of factors that informed the participants’ language and literacy experiences.

Implications

Implications for Practice

Writing in the Contact Zone

The findings of the present study draw attention to the importance of age of arrival, instruction in the home language, class, identity, and ideology in the development of Spanish-English bilingual immigrant students' development as writers.

The early-arriving participants, especially Diego and Jenny, voiced that they were bilingual in English and Spanish but they were not biliterate. All three of them were interested in biliteracy. Furthermore, the early-arriving participants developed a more bilingual view of language and took pride in their bilingual abilities. Maria, in particular, showed that she was learning to incorporate Spanish into her writing, which was an indication of her growing confidence in her bilingual and bicultural identity. When considering these findings, it seems that it would be beneficial for bilingual students to be provided with specific opportunities to develop their bilingual identities. Pratt (1998) characterized the contact zones as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (p. 173). She further points out that bilingualism, along with "miscomprehension and incomprehension" are part of the contact zone and bilingual students are part of "the transnationalized metropolis of the United States, and [they] are becoming more widely visible, more pressing, and . . . more decipherable to those who once would have ignored them in defense of a stable, centered sense of knowledge and reality" (p. 179). My findings suggest that it is important to recognize the writing within its own right that

students produce within the contact zone. This means that it is important to recognize and encourage students' bilingual and bicultural identities.

The university context can exert a centripetal (centralizing/unifying) influence on students. However, these students' acts of agency in their writing showed a centrifugal (decentralizing/diversifying) influence on language in the university context. As Pratt (1998) pointed out, texts produced in the contact zone may be ignored or misinterpreted. Part of recognizing, and encouraging students is facilitating them in drawing on their Spanish language background. Along with Artze-Vega, Doud, and Torres (2007), my findings indicate that it is important to encourage students to make use of languages other than Standard English. Artze-Vega and colleagues included a caveat that it is important to convey to students to only draw on other languages and dialects besides standard English to a limited extent, and that students should consult with their instructor to ensure that their language use is appropriate. The experience of students in the current study show that it is not necessary to reign in students in their use of languages and dialects besides English. On the contrary, the students in the current study conveyed experiences with language that were shaming and caused them to reign in their use of Spanish and Chicano English. Maria incorporated more Spanish in her writing when she was invited to do so. She had voiced indignation at the fact that her education had not addressed her experiences before the university. My findings suggest that encouraging students to draw on and use languages besides English can help students to feel seen, to connect to writing, and to develop their writing.

As Bean et al. (2003) pointed out, inviting students to use home languages is a complex task; it's not as simple as telling students that it's okay to do so. I suggest that it

is important to work at various levels of the university to create climates that show respect for and encourage multilingualism. In the context of a writing course, one possibility is to include works in different languages that contain code-switching and to engage students in discussions of the effect codes-switching has on the writing, and the meanings they attach to the code-switching. Asking students to explore and write about their literacy histories could be another important way of helping them to connect to experiences with language and education that they could draw on in a university context. It is important to develop trust between teachers and students when asking students to share aspects of their literacy histories that may contain difficult experiences. It may be encouraging for students if teachers engage in similar explorations of their literacy histories and share them with students and show how they may have recovered censored parts of themselves. The participants in this study sometimes had experiences that could be thought of as Freire's (1993) concept of "critical consciousness," comments like one from Diego, "I know now . . . what bilingual education . . . intends to do, kind of just make everyone learn English and not caring really much for what else they know." Reading works by critical theorists like Freire and Anzaldúa may help students to develop tools to develop "critical consciousness," which may facilitate their making choices about what language(s) to use, how, and when.

Identity and Writing

Categorizing linguistically diverse students in universities is fraught with complexity, and can affect students' lives. Although it may be difficult, it is important to recognize students' bilingual and bicultural backgrounds. Invanic (1998) pointed out that a writer's identities are an important part of developing as a writer. Sometimes students

hide their backgrounds. My findings illustrate that Spanish was a significant part of the bilingual students' lives, and they often used Spanish to discuss their writing, but only outside of class, because they saw the university as an English-only environment.

Participants talked about their teachers providing opportunities for them to explore topics and to express their writing in a way that felt comfortable to them. Often, this approach is encouraging and validating for students; however, sometimes it encouraged students to interpret the context as English-only, and as a place where their identities as Mexican or immigrant would not be validated. Thus, in encouraging students to explore openly, it sometimes had the effect that students censored themselves. As Ivanic (1998) pointed out, "discussing the writer's identity places an act of writing in the context of the writer's past history, of their position in relation to their social context, and of their role in possible futures" (p. 338). My research suggests, along with Ivanic, that instructors need to be aware that students may have had negative experiences with language and literacy, and they may have internalized negative messages from it, so instructors need to explicitly provide opportunities for all students to explore and express their identities.

Early Experiences

Cristina and Nicolas likely could have benefited from more encouragement with building on their school experiences in Mexico and learning strategies to apply their previous learning to their U.S. school experiences. Cristina's comments about feeling that she was ahead in school in the U.S. because of her previous learning in Mexico, but that English was a barrier attests to this need. Furthermore, Nicolas's comments that his teachers treated him like he did not know anything also indicate that he could have benefited from more assistance in building on his previous knowledge and background in

school. It is important for university professors to consider that immigrant students may have had complicated experiences with education. Acknowledging immigrant students' experiences can inform professors' understandings of the writing of immigrant and language minority students, and focus their attitudes toward a stance of curiosity about their writing, rather than thinking of monolingual, native-speakers of English as the standard. Academic support offices for students, and centers for teaching and learning for faculty and staff are good places to start conversations about immigrant students and disseminate knowledge to faculty.

Personal Connections to Writing

Some of the students actively hid their immigrant, cultural, and linguistic identities in their writing at the university. Cristina went to great lengths to make sure her papers approximated what she perceived to be her teachers' expectations in terms of cultural knowledge and usage of standard English. Diana chose neutral topics because she did not want to hurt anyone's feelings with her views. Cristina and Diana's experiences show the importance of recognizing the feelings bilingual, immigrant, students may experience in a predominantly white, monolingual English university setting. Cristina, Diana, and Maria showed that when they were invited to share and explore aspects of their linguistic and cultural identities, they did so, and with positive benefits. Based on my findings, I maintain that it is important to actively invite students to explore these topics and to encourage their efforts at making sense of their identities. Inviting students to write about and explore their cultural and linguistic identities was beneficial to their writing as well because it helped them to have something to say in their writing that they could explore and develop.

Implications for Research

Future research needs to focus on understanding how immigrant, bilingual students draw on their backgrounds as they develop as writers in the university. My study is meaningful in that it shed light on how students' literacy histories and immigration experiences informed their writing and writing experiences within the context of a research I university that sometimes afforded and sometimes constrained the participants in drawing on their backgrounds. In addition to research I institutions, it is important to include other contexts, as well as other types of writing.

Post-secondary institutions vary greatly in their admissions requirements, student support services, graduation rates, and climates for minority students. Because of the wide variation in different types of post-secondary institutions, future research needs to be done in a variety of contexts. For example, Roderick et al (2008) pointed out that high school students in some urban settings aspire to attend college, and because of low GPAs and ACT scores, they often enroll in non-selective post-secondary institutions with low graduation rates. My research indicates that literacy experiences and development are part of the complex constellation of factors that may contribute to students' engagement and success in academic contexts. Future research needs to provide detailed investigations of how language and literacy experiences and development may relate to students' successful transition to and academic success in both selective and non-selective institutions.

Since literacy is so central to students' academic achievement, and in particular writing, it is necessary to continue to explore what it means to develop biliteracy for immigrant students. Immigrant students' experiences with education and literacy in

different cultural, educational, linguistic, and rhetorical contexts present unique opportunities to develop a deeper understanding of how these issues play out in writing and writing development in academic contexts.

The pilot study for this research (Stegemoller, 2004) also included an instructor and made claims about the implicit and explicit policies in the context. Further research that includes instructors and that specifically examines discourses and policies related to linguistic minority students is necessary. Such research could be conducted from a similar theoretical perspective as the current study using Bakhtinian concepts of dialogue and speech genres (Bakhtin, 1986). It could be conducted by including one classroom in a university as a focal context to study. In addition to collecting data from students, data could be collected from the instructor, as well as from the supervisor of the course, and other individuals that students work with, for example, writing center staff.

Issues of transfer between languages, and the role of the home language in English writing, and vice versa, merit further investigation. This study, as well as others, have shown that individuals can and do draw on a variety of linguistic resources from different languages when they write.

This study used retrospective data to show how study participants' early experiences with language, literacy, and education informed their experiences in the university. In addition, it would be valuable to conduct longitudinal studies to document the ways that early experiences inform post-secondary students' writing and writing experiences.

An important component of the university context in the current study that afforded students in drawing on their backgrounds was the university's Latina/o Studies

program. Further research on how educational contexts can be inviting to immigrant and language minority students is needed. In addition, this research showed that bilingual, immigrant students draw on their L1 as they carry out writing in English. Further research needs to be carried out to clarify how to provide instruction that facilitates students in drawing on their L1 as they develop academic writing in English. Such research needs to take into account the complexities of students' experiences with language and literacy in contexts that often do not value minority languages.

The current study also provided some evidence of the benefits that students may receive when they draw on their home languages and personal experiences. It will be valuable to carry out studies that provide concrete documentation of how students may or may not benefit from drawing on linguistic and cultural resources in their academic writing in the university and what the specific benefits are for students' development as writers.

My study provided insights into how students utilized academic support programs. Students were not inclined to go to the university writing center because of the perception that they would be judged and it would be a negative experience. Instead, students often relied on friends and family for academic support. Future research should continue to explore university academic support options as well as students' personal support networks to develop an understanding of what type of support students use and why. Findings of such research would be important in enhancing what is known about university academic support, such as writing and study skills centers, as well as capitalizing on students' personal support networks.

Research on the support networks that immigrant and language minority students draw on as they carry out academic writing and other types of writing can provide valuable insights into the symbolic or physical tools that they provide students and how they exercise agency in implementing them. A sociocultural view of agency maintains that individual acts of agency are related to groups of individuals that may not be physically present. Investigations into agency from a sociocultural perspective and symbolic tools can help shed light on factors that relate to the success of language minority students. Understanding the contexts and tools that enable language minority students to exercise agency can enhance knowledge about how to create contexts that are supportive for language minority students in educational contexts.

In addition to research that explores bilingual, immigrant students' experiences in their first years of college, it is imperative to conduct more exploration of these students' high school experiences. As my and others' research shows, students who graduate from urban high schools often have limited in-school experiences with literacy instruction, and bilingual students often have little opportunity to develop biliteracy in the home language and English. Future research needs to examine immigrant and language minority students' experiences in high school as well as their home, and extracurricular literacy experiences in English and home languages.

In addition, how bilingual and language minority students may influence the discourse about language and literacy in academic settings merits investigation. The students in this study exhibited courage in using their home languages in their writing and expressing aspects of their identities that provided counterdiscourses to the dominant discourses of the institution. It would be valuable to document how language minority,

immigrant students may influence their peers and instructors in ways that problematize dominant notions of standard language in academia. Pratt (1998) conceptualized bilingual, immigrant students in educational contexts in the U.S. as writing in “contact zones.” Pratt maintains that contact zones, if engaged in ways that are safe for all participants, can be places of “identifying with the ideas, interests, histories, and attitudes of others; experiments in transculturation and collaborative work and in the arts of critique, parody, and comparison” (p. 184). Research that examines how views of language and literacy of students from dominant linguistic and national backgrounds may be influenced through interactions with bilingual, immigrant students also merits investigation.

Implications for Policy

The findings of this study suggest that language policies are an important area to focus on in improving the climate, instruction, and academic success of immigrant, language minority students. Many of the explicit and implicit language policies that are in place in educational settings result from a neoclassical approach (Tollefson, 1991), which frames policymaking in terms of what is considered to be an objective cost-benefit analysis of neutral factors. This type of policymaking fails to take into consideration historical, social, and political implications of policies. The findings of this study show that students’ literacy histories are complex and they are interrelated with the context of the university and broader societal ideologies. These histories and contexts informed the participants’ writing and writing experiences in significant ways and, therefore, a historical-structural approach (Tollefson, 1991) to language policy and planning is necessary in order to adequately address the backgrounds and needs of all students. A

historical-structural approach to language policy and planning requires institutions to examine their practices and make explicit policies that take into account the realities of the backgrounds of their students. This approach would create a more equitable situation because it would ensure that students receive the type of instruction they need in order to achieve their academic and personal goals, rather than acting as a potential gatekeeper. A historical-structural approach to language policy and planning would help to create a climate that respects and encourages multilingualism so that language minority students have opportunities to build on their linguistic resources and develop biliteracy.

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) conceptualized language policy in terms of a multi-layered onion that includes legislation and political processes on the top layer. Underneath that layer are institutions and classroom practitioners. These layers are part of the issue of defining and addressing diverse bilingual students. Explicit and implicit institutional policies guide the types of courses that are developed for students. The courses students enroll in affect how they are instructed, and all of these variables have a combined effect on how language minority students fare in higher education. The findings of this study suggest that an understanding of these language policy and planning issues can help to provide a context for understanding and conceptualizing the language and literacy issues involved in the writing instruction and development of linguistically diverse students in university settings.

Limitations of the Study

The claims made in this study are limited in several ways. Carrying out this study at a research I university influenced who the students were that were invited to participate

in the study. The findings may not be applicable in other settings, for example, community colleges or non-selective universities. At the outset of the study, I chose to include students who were born outside of the U.S. and who participated in a bilingual education or ESL program and who graduated from high school in the U.S. Utilizing those predetermined criteria for including participants constrained the types of participants in the study. Also, I included only students in this study; I did not include any of their instructors, their peers, or university administrators. This means that the claims in this study are only applicable to the participants' views of themselves. Also, I relied heavily on extensive interview data, so the claims in this study reflect how the participants constructed their memories of themselves and their past experiences. In terms of making claims about academic success, I did not ask the participants to provide grades, or GPAs from high school or the university, nor ACT scores. It would have been fruitful to be able to include students' grades and actual ACT scores to be able to make claims about their success in the high school and university contexts. In terms of student writing, I collected writing from the participants that they chose to share with me, so I did not obtain the same number of writing samples from participants, or from similar types of courses. I did not ask the participants to read their interviews or drafts or write-ups of findings. This means that the claims are more tied to my interpretations of the participants. Nevertheless, these findings do offer a complex portrait of these students' experiences with language and literacy.

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APPENDIX A

CRISTINA'S WRITING

Cristina's Composition 103 Paper:

Photograph Analysis: A Meticulous Analysis of Photographs from the War in Iraq

We all know that the war in Iraq is no happy story to be told, yet a photograph taken by Jerome Delay fails to recognize that. In one of his expeditions to the Middle East, he gets a shot of an Iraqi soldier getting released from American custody. Taken from an American photographer's point of view, serenity, rebellion, and relief are all depicted in the photograph. Though what one fails to see is the cruel reality hidden within; it takes an attentive viewer to reveal the obscure hidden meaning behind this photo. With the objective to only show what's on the surface, an American photographer uses his tools and skills to show us only what the media wants us to see.

This is where people like Jerome Delay become a major asset to the press. He is a photographer, though currently in Johannesburg, who photographs the war in Iraq. He has been acknowledged for numerous achievements, one of which won the award for photo of the year from Editor & Publisher. It was a picture that, although lacked a title and caption, captured the image an Iraqi soldier, held captive by U.S. troops and freed by them.

After the attack of 9/11 the U.S. took a very aggressive stance against terrorism; they're focus was primarily based on the Middle East. The two leading countries in America's eyes were Iraq and Afghanistan. While we are under the impression that the terrorist attacks were what started the war with Iraq, one must realize that Iraq itself was not responsible for the bombing of the Twin Towers. After the invasion of Afghanistan

was declared a success, America shifted its priority to Iraq and Saddam Hussein. The U.S.' main claims were that Saddam Hussein was extremely oppressive and possessed weapons of mass destruction. Despite their plan of attack being rejected by the United Nations, the U.S. headed by President Bush's cabinet decided to take military actions against Iraq to forcibly destroy "terrorism" at its roots. Saddam Hussein has been stripped from his position as dictator, and to this day there are American troops in Iraq and many innocent soldiers are killed every day.

The picture that won the award of the year from Editor & Publisher, portrays two American soldiers and an Iraqi soldier who had just been freed by American troops from U.S. custody. One American soldier appears to be aiding the Iraqi soldier by (2) *pouring water **in** his mouth*, but another one, who isn't pictured, is pointing a gun at his head, and the Iraqi soldier also has his hands tied behind his back. (3) *On this picture* the view perceives a sense of serenity from the facial expressions of the released soldier. His closed eyes and his open mouth are the representation of relief from all the chaos that he must have experienced during his incarceration. It is a moment in the man's life where time stood still. One gets the sense that not a single disturbance in the world could disrupt this moment of freedom. As well as his facial expressions, the way the camera is focused on the soldiers, which in turn blurs the background, gives us feeling of intense bliss. We can actually catch a glimpse of the setting itself through the picture in an intangible way.

Though the strongest feeling this photograph projects is serenity, the soldier's facial expressions also express the exhaustion one accumulates from (4) *being **in** war*; the soldiers must be constantly in battle and on high alert at all times, never being able to relax due to the high stress that being in combat gives them. Also being a soldier in

general involves rigorous training and constant movement. When the viewer considers setting of the war is taking, he or she notices that it's easy for a soldier to become malnourished and dehydrated due to extreme climates, and the lack of resources available in Iraq. The severity of the heat on that particular day is easily revealed through the haziness in the image, which also shows how thirsty the imprisoned soldier must have been, nearing the point of dehydration.

Even though the soldier seems as if he's going through a moment of peace, there are also other things going on that show the opposite such as the gun being pointed at his head, his hands tied behind his back, and the water that is supposed to be poured into his mouth but appears to be going everywhere but in there, one can notice such occurrences in the cropped picture. What is shown seems to be the soldier experiencing helplessness with his hands behind him and the American soldiers are his only way of replenishing his livelihood after being imprisoned. The barrier of treachery he was held captive in has been destroyed and buried by the red white and blue soldiers of righteousness. In spite of this imagery, what is truly occurring is the unwarranted destruction of a regime that was in no way liable for the war being thrown upon them. Furthermore, the Iraqi soldier is an allegorical figure that represents the surprised nature of the Iraqi government and people being bum-rushed by American forces. Also, the water that is being given to him is a representation of the "help" the U.S. is giving to Iraq, but yet if one takes a quick glance at the photograph we fail to notice the gun that is also being pointed at him. This symbolizes how America is also discretely killing the Iraqi people, and how the press attempts to portray this in their pictures and their statistics to American society, but fails to show the complete truth.

Even though the photograph exemplifies serenity, freedom, and relief of the Iraqis, it's obvious for one to see that this is just propaganda used in order to acquire support for the war. Since the photograph was taken by a Caucasian photographer who works for the an [sic] American newspaper, he is clearly given the duty of taking pictures that make the American government appear to be noble in aiding an Iraqi soldier and setting him free. In addition, he would also have the responsibility to make the war seem justified; with this he seeks out moments where military appears to carry out dignified acts. Predetermined settings appear to have been carefully selected in his work involving the war effort; he is showing what events are exactly taking place in Iraq, but only to a certain degree.

What Delay fails to point out in his picture is what occurs before the Iraqi is granted his freedom. This photograph is taken during broad daylight which show the viewer what occurs during the day, but what neglects to show what happens at night. Daylight symbolizes a new beginning, peace, the aftermath of things, and hope; all of which appear to be happening in Iraq, though that is entirely true. On the contrary, night symbolizes despair, sadness, blindness, death, and the end of all things. With this in mind (1) *we may **question ourselves** why* there is a lack of photographs being taken at night, as well as of any of the combat. Occurrences such as all the shootings, civilians killed with no remorse, increase in poverty, and lack of resources such as access to medical care, food, and shelter are some of the few things we have recently become aware of through stories we hear from the American soldiers who were fortunate enough to return home. It is imperative that we, as intelligent U.S. citizens, do not get swayed by the images

projected upon us. We must look past what is put in front of us and train ourselves to extract the underlying truth behind it.

Cristina's First African-American Studies Paper
African American Studies

The African- American Studies program at the University has been in existence since the 1970s. It took over a decade of Black student movements in order to get African-American Studies program started. The movements started in the 1960s and ended in the mid-1970s. During this time African-American students faced many struggles and went through many obstacles to get a Black Studies program started (Williamson 134). Today (1: Preposition) *African-American Studies* **on** (instead of "at") *this school* is perceived as (1: Article) *an asset for* **the** (instead of no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense) *student's knowledge*. Furthermore, its purpose is to broaden everyone's horizons and expose all students to different cultures. Although this program is perceived in such way, and it has a meaningful purpose, not many students acknowledge this. They are not aware of how or why we have ethnic programs such as this one. On the other hand, faculty members in the social science departments appear to know more on this. It seems little research is being done on African Americans; such scarcity could be due to the low rate of African-American faculty members in some of the social science departments.

Two University students were interviewed, to see how they perceived African-American or Black Studies program, and what they knew about it. Unfortunately the two students didn't seem to be very (2: Prep.) *familiar with this unit* **in** (instead of "on") *campus*, nor with the hard work black students went through in order to get the program started. The only thing one of the students knew was that there is a course which brings all the ethnic courses together. The class ..encompasses Asian, Latino, African, and Native American studies. The things they were both aware of though, were about the

basic facts that (b: Noun modifier) *there was a **slavery period*** (instead of “*period of slavery*”; *noun modifier over-correction*) and the civil rights movement. As a result they said that such information has helped them further understand how the African-American community has developed. It has also helped them be conscious how the past has influenced the present. They didn’t know much about how this area of study came to be either. One of the students had an idea that it was started by motivated black students who wanted an African-American Studies program (3: Prep.) ***in** their campus* (instead of “*on*”).

Although the two students weren’t very well-informed about the program, they had (4: Prep) *strong opinions **on** it* (instead of “*about*”) and the other ethnic courses. They both thought it was a necessary area of study (5: Prep) *to have **in** this campus* (instead of “*on*”) because it would offer them a retelling history from an African-American perspective. One of the students also thought that all minority cultures influence each other because they’ve all been discriminated against, and they all need to learn about one another to be able to intelligently fight oppression and racism. They both also thought it was important to have an African-American research (6: Prep) *program **in** the university* (instead of “*at*”). One of them thinks it provides students a different perspective using the cultural base of the African-American community. The other one thought that this research is as important as any other History course research because history wouldn’t be the same without all the different minority groups. Even though the African-American Studies classes aren’t only geared towards Black students, one of the students interviewed thought that the purpose of them was to generate more African-American scholars to the research in that field, while the other student thought that it was

to educate everyone on African-American History from perspectives from black scholars. Finally both students thought it was imperative to have ethnic studies courses as (7: Prep.) *a requirement **in** this campus (instead of “on”)*. The main reason why they should be mandatory is because educated youth of America should approach the multicultural society we live in with an open-mind.

As well as two students in this campus, two faculty members from two distinct disciplines in the social sciences were interrogated. One professor was from the History department and the other from the Education department. It was obvious that these two faculty members were more familiar with the African- American studies program, compared to the students. When they were asked what they knew about African-American or Black Studies, they both responded with a vast amount of information. They were both aware that it was (8: Prep.) *a relatively new program **in** this campus (instead of “on”)*. Also, that is one of the courses where students enrolled in it are minorities who become the majority of the class. They were also well aware of the protests and controversy that lasted for over a decade in order to get the program started in this school. They both also informed me that this program has shaped them as citizens in their own fields. The Education Professor said that issues related to equality, education, and linguistic diversity are directly related to African-American studies as well as with other ethnic studies. He also mentioned that some of his studies such as literacy practices and drop-out rates are based on African Americans. The History professor stated that the African- American Studies department has definitely shaped what he does as a professor in such discipline. He feels as if it's necessary to teach different cultures to all students, and in lecture he tries to incorporate History from all different ethnic studies. Both

professors responded with similar answers when they were asked how African-American Studies came to be. They had an idea that it was around the 1960s and 1970s when actions were being done in order to start an African-American Studies program in educational institutions. This was the time when society became aware of racial disparities in college campuses, and conscious that minorities were experiencing different levels of privileges compared to whites. Citizens also realized that they needed a separate program for African-American Studies because their own history was different than the mainstream one.

When the question comes about whether it's necessary to have an African-American studies program or not, the professor's answers coincided with the student's. The professors thought it was a necessary field (9: Prep.) *to have in a campus (instead of "on")* because without it the only History that students would learn about is the standard history provided. One of the professors also thought that it is vital to have such department in order to increase the developmental knowledge and visibility of all students. Additionally it is essential that students be exposed to other cultures other than their own. Furthermore it is crucial to have these types of courses that (10: Prep.) *focus specifically in African Americans (instead of "on")* because other department's studies concentrate mostly on the mainstream society, causing African Americans to often go ignored.

The History professor believes that the African-American Studies and Research program at UIUC is an important unit in this campus. One of the reasons why it's essential is because it offers all of the African-American professors a unity in campus, in which they can perform studies in the field of Black History and African Americans

themselves. Without this unit these professors would be forced to work and mix their research with white majority students. The English professor also thought that it was important to have (11: Prep.) *this program **in** our campus (instead of “on”)* due to the small amount of African-American faculty in the social science departments, which in turn puts limits on the amount of research that can be done, geared towards African Americans.

Both professors had similar views on the purpose of the program as well. They said it is a way to provide a place which (2: Art) *validates **the** African American History (instead of no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense)*, and offers knowledge for the entire campus community. It also provides professors who are interested in the African-American experience, an opportunity to broadly explore it by performing research on the Black community. Both professors as well as students were concurrent with their opinions about including ethnic studies as a general requirement at UIUC. The professors thought it was essential because the leading cause of racism is prejudice and ignorance, and when ignorance is removed from student’s minds through education, one promotes diversity and acceptance. Not only would students be more open-minded about different cultures, but they would also develop respect for other minority groups.

In the “white supremacy capitalist patriarchy” that we live in today it’s hard to find courses that offer an in-look into minority culture. That is why it’s necessary to have different ethnic courses that offer students an opportunity (3: Art.) *to explore all **the** different cultures (instead of no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense)*. After being in an African-American course myself, I’ve come to the realization that there was a lot (12: Prep.) *I was unaware **about** (instead of “of”)*. It has informed me of the racial

ethnic diversities in campus, and of how African-Americans studies specifically came about. The protests to get this program started in this school lasted over a decade. It was a very controversial issue because the school didn't want to give black students their own courses. It was a similar issue to the one that took place at Howard University. Black students wanted their school to be identified as a black institution; as a result they were demanding black courses. The faculty members at Howard questioned the validity of separate doctrines if everyone was supposed to be learning the same thing. What they didn't realize though, was that they were contradicting themselves because they were only teaching "white History" before African-American courses were offered.

After going around campus into two different social sciences buildings, I realized that there is a need for an African-American Studies and Research program. There are only a few black tenured or tenured-track faculty members in some departments. In the accounting building there is only one tenured professor, and in the psychology building there is one out of sixty-four full-time faculty members who is tenured or tenured-track. Such scarceness may cause little to no research done specifically for blacks. Therefore, having a separate unit for this sole purpose guarantees an examination into the issues of race and racism and to try to make society aware of these things. Seeing that African-American studies are an important unit (13: Prep.) *to have in this campus (instead of "on")*, we shouldn't ignore all the other ethnic studies programs. Having to take at least one cultural course should definitely be a general curriculum requirement (4: Art.) *for all the students (instead of no article for a noun phrase used in a general sense)*. Not only is knowledge the only way to fight oppression and racism, but students would also be developing a sense of open-mindedness to the multicultural society we live in today.

Cristina's Second African-American Studies paper—Excerpt
African Americans and Society

Being a Latin female in this country has helped me notice all the struggles that people of color must go through in their every day lives. Many of the problems that African Americans face arise from or lead back to racism. Racism is one of the reasons why there hasn't been a president of African American descent in office. For this same reason, African Americans are also being denied opportunities in the work force and financial help. In addition, society has always looked down upon African Americans, in a way that they're not viewed the same way as Caucasians. Even though Affirmative action has helped society takes *[sic]* strides towards a more equal America, there is still a long journey ahead of us in order to completely achieve an "Equal America."

Since the late 1800's when slavery was abolished, African Americans have been mistreated and disrespected. Even though everyone has had equal rights, African Americans were always below Caucasians in society. As of today, for every dollar that a white person makes, a black person makes sixty-eight cents. It has been difficult for African Americans to succeed in society; I believe this has to do with the impact of the inequality that was started by slavery. For example, if the parents of an African American boy were slaves as opposed to the parents of a Caucasian boy who were the owners of the slave, it would be likely that the Caucasian boy would be more successful than that other boy due to his parents' financial status and the opportunities that were given to him.

Although African Americans are getting more opportunities to become educated due to affirmative action, and they're perseverance to succeed, there is still a vast amount of them living in poor low income areas. As a result, if a person were to see a group of black teenagers on a street corner, they would see them as a threat to society.

APPENDIX B
DIANA'S WRITING

11 de abril de 2005

Espa 4232

El Baúl de Miss Florence

El Baúl de Miss Florence es un texto que capta toda la atención del lector por la serie de relatos que lo componen. Es interesante porque estos relatos, al igual que en "La casa de la laguna" y "Don Quijote" se pueden leer por separados. Es una técnica que motiva al lector a estar pendiente del desarrollo de la obra ya que se ve envuelto en ella al tratar de enlazar los sucesos como un buen detective o investigador. *involucrada/o*

Este texto no me llamó la atención simplemente por la manera que estaba escrita y haberme podido envolver como una investigadora, sino porque a través de su lectura pude recoger o repasar casi todos los temas que hemos tocado durante el semestre en clase. Principalmente, en esta obra pude ver retratado muchos elementos de Pedreira y de Rosario Ferré en "La casa de la laguna".

Primeramente, encontramos al principio del texto la mención de un piso inferior al igual que en la obra de Ferré. Más adelante, en la obra, se hace referencia a la mansión de los Lid y a la arquitectura que también son elementos que podemos hallar en "La casa de la laguna". *— explicación.*

Otro rasgo de esta obra que se asemeja a "La casa de la laguna" son sus personajes. Tenemos una familia que tiene una sirvienta negra llamada Bela que hace semejanza con Petra, con la única diferencia que Petra muere y Bela es la sobreviviente del hogar. Mr. Lid posee características muy similares a Quintín y a Buenaventura, es

un hombre de negocios, hacendado y muy patriarcal. Mrs. Sussan es la típica mujer que en su época se sometía a las reglas de su marido y no se realizó completamente como su padre hubiera querido. Vivió una vida solitaria en muchos momentos y en otros de apariencia. Se puede decir que se parece a Rebeca. Un ejemplo de su parecido es la manera en que tratan a sus hijos. Así, sucesivamente vemos mucha similitud entre sus personajes.

También en este texto podemos encontrar algunas de las metáforas que mencionamos en clases como: la de la casa, el agua (laguna = estancamiento) y de cierta manera la nave al garete. *Dónde?*

Ahora, en cuanto los elementos Pedrerianos que hallé tengo la mención de que los niños maduran temprano como dice Miss Florence de Charlie. Otro elemento es que para Pedreira la raza negra es inferior y en el texto también se menciona. También se hace alusión a la pregunta, si esta raza híbrida tiene un alma.

En resumidas cuentas, fue una obra que me encantó por todo lo que mencioné y porque pude ver un poco sobre la cultura francesa y británica.

Buenísimas ideas pero no profundizas.
21/25

Brainstorm List

Write as fast as you can, and write down everything you think of. You don't need to write full sentences or pay attention to grammar. Just write key words and phrases, without any judgment at all. Answer the question:

What things can I compare and contrast within my field of interest?

variaci3n fonol3gica (phonological variation)
 variaci3n en la sintaxis (syntactic variation)
 espa1ol (Spanish)
 English
 Italian
 writers → born in P.R.
 → born in U.S.
 but these parents
 are Puerto Ricans
 topics
 feminism
 racism
 migration
 languages in contact
 bilingualism
 culture
 history of language
 social factors
 linguistic factors

Camacho Santiago → When I was Puerto Rico
 → Almost a woman
 → Turkish lover
 autobiography → my life before married
 → my life after married
 → my life when I was catholic
 → my life now like a christian
 the life in an apartment / life in a house
 hobbies → read
 → computer games
 religions

APPENDIX C

DIEGO'S WRITING

Diego's Scholarship Essay

My home is "Center Town" (pseudonym) the largest Mexican immigrant community in (that part of the country). My community's business district ranks the second highest generator of money [in the state]. The blood, sweat, and tears of hard working residents like my parents have built and sustained the community I live in. At one end of our business district stands a huge arch welcoming new comers, to a safe space for immigrants. Cultural representations of Mexican national symbols are vividly painted on brick walls of local corner stores and barbershops. Its authentic Mexican restaurants, taquerias, and panaderias attract visitors from across the city. With out a doubt that my community is a cultural and economic power house that contributes the nation.

However, disregarding the contributions communities like mine make to the country, anti-immigrant sentiment is quickly developing and people are blaming undocumented immigrants for the country's economic crisis. "Nativist" rhetoric expressing anger toward the Latino community in general is circulating making even citizens vulnerable to harassment. The anti immigrant sentiment is so strong that armed vigilante projects to "protect the border" are quickly developing in states along the U.S-Mexico border. This is the type of environment under which proposition HR 4437 was bred. Enforcement only propositions like HR 4437 are unfair to contributing residents and are not the solution to the broken immigration system. Communities like mine are under attack, as I have encountered ignorant opinions on the issue in and out of classroom

settings, uninformed students equate and interchangeably use the terms of “illegal aliens” and terrorist.

Fortunately parallel to the rising anti-immigration climate, coalition building is taking place in communities all across the U.S. to demonstrate opposition to proposals like HR 4437. Some manifestations have reached over 500,000 in cities like Chicago and Los Angeles. Hard working residents from communities like mine all across the country are demanding comprehensive immigration reform, and are proclaiming the dignity and respect they deserve. Students have joined the movement by organizing walk-out’s in opposition to such legislation these actions have put congress under pressure to forge a solution the broken system. These expressions of community sentiment and actions played a pivotal role in sparking and shifting the immigration debate taking place in Congress today.

I am proud to say that as an undergrad I have committed myself a pro-immigrant rights student organization on campus. We have worked on issues that affect . . . students along with issues that affect the local immigrant community. . . . One of our greatest accomplishments this semester was a meeting with Dean of Student Affairs regarding a potential university committee to serve undocumented students in the University. The idea to establish a provisional ad-hoc committee emerged from the growing number of undocumented students in our university and the inefficiency of the different university services and lack of opportunities. There have been an increasing number of undocumented students in colleges and universities due to HB 60, a state law that grants undocumented student who are residents of the state eligible for in-state tuition in public universities and colleges. We discussed issues such as financial aid, degree/award

eligibility, summer programs, internships, and harassment. Some outcomes from this meeting included necessary actions from the administration to make sure faculty and staff of the university are aware of the presence of undocumented students We also asked them to look into ways to financially assist undocumented students. We suggested that they start by creating a different method of assessing financial need since (some students) do not qualified for federal aid and FAFSA is currently the only method used to asses need. We think through this committee we will be change the way that the university serves the growing number of undocumented students both in the undergraduate and graduate level. This ad hoc committee is in its beginning stages but we look forward for great things to come from it.

At the community level [our organization] is hosting a Tax clinic day, were we will help the local community to file out their federal taxes and apply for Individual Tax Identification Number (ITINS). ITINs are issued by the IRS for the purpose that those who do not have a social security number in order to fill out their taxes. ITINs are also important because they can now be used to open bank accounts and in some cases help qualify for loans. Probably the most important part of the tax clinic is that we are aware that legislation that includes a pathway to citizenship requires that all individuals pay overdue taxes. In this event we also take the opportunity to have a pre-registering drive for [a] health insurance plan [that is geared toward all children]. This is a state health insurance plan, proposed by governor . . . that covers all low-income children in the state . . . including undocumented children.

It is my responsibility to serve my community at the undergraduate level and after graduation. For this reason I plan to double major in Latina/o Studies and Political

Science. These classes guide my passion for social change and challenge me to think critically. In these classes I have learned that immigration is a product of national history and that one must study history closely to affectively rectify the broken immigration system. I feel a background in these two areas will help me further understand issues Latinos confront such as immigration. Ultimately I aspire to be a professor and engage my experience and accumulated knowledge into classroom settings. In the process of doing this I will maintain my commitment to my community by remaining actively involved in issues of social justice.

“If one does not understand how a complicated piece of machinery works, one should not try to fix it.” (Durand, Malone, Massey). This quote expresses my attitude towards the current state of legislation affecting immigration today. We need fair and comprehensive immigration reform not enforcement only proposition that will only exacerbate system’s dysfunction. While the hard work of my parents and other residents of “Center Town” maintain my community economically and culturally prosperous, the destiny of us and millions are in the hands of few. As community it’s our responsibility to reclaim our destiny by fighting injustice both at the grass-roots level and through education. Therefore I feel this program can supplement my knowledge, educational career, my understanding of the issue, and my passion.

Latina/o Identity Formation

The Latino identity formation is created by endless factors and conditions. Some of the factors are conditional and others have been historically situated. Race, class, region, generation, gender, nationality, political consciousness, and personal attitudes contribute to shaping the Latino identity. In order to understand the Latino Identity I will use the work of Suzanne Oboler as a base for Latino identity formation, I will attempt to supplement her work drawing connections to other readings that shape the Latino identity formation.

In “The Politics of Labeling: Latino/a Cultural Identities of Self and Others” Oboler argues that in the process of declaring who we are we express what we are not. She also demonstrates how identity formation is constantly changing depending on internal and external factors. In relation to this people form their identity by a process that Oboler refers to as a “Self and Othering Process.” This self and othering process consists of asserting ones identity by distinguishing what one is and what one is not in reference to others. As referenced in class by Dr. Torres, the theory of W.E.B Dubois of “double consciousness” can be used to assist the understanding of the Latino identity formation through the self and other process. Double consciousness helps the identity formation process by assisting the self and othering process in differentiating between ones self as a distinction or part of others.

Immigrant Gender Roles and Identity

Gender roles are critical in Latino identity formation. The gender component of the Latino identity formation can complicate and or reaffirm the self. Gender roles can challenge the Latino identity formation at different levels and from different angles. A

prominent example of gender roles being challenged and asserted is in the experiences of new immigrants. Oboler suggest that discontinuity of traditional gender roles in a Latino household are possibly due to immigrant experience (Oboler, Pg 21). For example immigrant Latinos shatter and or retain traditional gender roles as it is necessary in order to adapt to their new environment. An example of this is women being forced into the labor system with their male counterparts because of economic necessity. This creates tension between their male counterparts because women challenge the long established patriarchal figure. Women often feel that, as equal contributors to they should share more power in the household setting. Therefore, one can safely infer that the integration of women in to the labor system destabilizes the traditional household power structure.

The experience of a lonesome Latino male immigrant can also rupture traditional gender roles. As immigrants men are obligated to tend some of the chores that traditionally might have been left for the women to carry out. Some of these tasks include but are not limited to cooking, laundry, and domestic cleaning. This is a step into self-dependence where the male is obligated to dent his macho pride in order to survive.

The Latino immigrant experience is not only responsible for shattering traditional gender roles but occasionally for enforcing these roles as well. For example, women who stay at home can potentially claim social stability. This creates a household where women are dependent on the male provider. This particular situation is one where its arguable whether traditional gender roles are oppressive.

Immigrant Latinos struggle adapting in to the new mainstream culture, and often are reminded of their low social class position. Condemned to this subordinate feeling may spur the search of worth inside their Latino cultural identity expresses Gloria

Anzaldua (Flores, Yudice, Pg.73). Search for cultural prevalence is another form in which traditional gender roles can be encouraged. Cultural prevalence is a strong feeling of one's culture as superior to others. In aspiring to attain cultural prevalence there is an obvious strong emphasis in retaining culture by preserving traditions and values. Preserving culture puts pressure on the maternal figure in passing down cultural tradition and values to the next generation. Mothers then are forced in to the stereotypical role of rearing their children to preserve culture to ultimately obtain the satisfaction of cultural worth in society. This emphasis of preserving cultural aesthetics grants confidence and shapes the Latino identity.

Hispanic as a Latino Identity

The Hispanic other is another avenue Oboler journeys through in presenting Latino identity formation. Oboler demonstrated that the perception of the term Hispanic is dependent on the different social class levels of Latinos. Oboler illustrated the controversy of the term by including evidence of distinct opinions on the term Hispanic. The Spanish speaking population that rejects Hispanic as a form of identification is because it the term imposed rather than self-proclaimed. Another reason why the Hispanic is problematic is because it homogenizes very distinct groups of people with different cultural practices. The negative connotations that are associated with the term Hispanic also contribute to the resistance of the label.

On the other hand the rejection of the term Hispanic can be problematic, since the US has a very standard procedure of allocating resources along racial lines. The people who reject the term Hispanic can contribute to insufficient resources allocated to the Latino community. Marking anything other than Hispanic in the census can decrease the

amount of resources that are set-aside for the Latino community by the federal government. This will remain problematic until the federal government adopts self-proclaimed identities.

A distinct form to understanding the struggle over language as an identity is described in “U.S. Latina/o Writers Tropicalize English.” In this article Frances Aparicio brings to attention the integration of Spanish idioms to English literature. He presents several examples of leading Latina/o writers who express cultural terms in English. This article argues that tropicalizing English is not a sign of defective English rather the formation and empowerment of a new identity through language.

American as a Latino Identity

Oboler also helps us explore the American Latino Identities, with examples of Latinos that emphasize their American identity. There are two variations of Latinos that seek to identify as American. One is the Latinos that view the American identity as a continental identity. The argument that America stretches from the top of Canada down to the very tip of Argentina is supportive of America as a continental Identity. The article also showed how Latinos contested the American identity that is only associated to white United States Americans (Oboler, Pg. 26). The second variation is the American identity as form of assimilating in United States American society. The American identity as a form of forcing acceptance into U.S. American society is assimilation at its worst. For Example the Mexican-American identity is one usually that is used to claim integration in to American society.

In the process of assimilation one admits cultural inferiority and therefore seeks to be absorbed into the mainstream society. Assimilation is a delicate topic because of the

thin line separating it from acculturation. Many decisions to pick, borrow, retain, and reject traditions can be challenged. One thing is for certain that identity formation is dependent on various factors therefore inconsistent and conditional.

Identity as a Social Movement

Latino Identity formation can pave the way for social movements. Social movements spur when people unite under one common cause. This unity is comprised of coalition building of different groups of people. An example would be the Latino identity inhabited by people of different Latin American nationalities, for the sake of a common goal. One can argue that hybridity/mestizaje can facilitate this unity among Latinos because of the historical relationship between European, African, and Indigenous people. This creates a vehicle for identity to challenge social injustices that the Latino community encounters. Although the Latino identity shaped solely by nationality can cause problems among the Latino community, evidence shows that Latinos of different nationalities show respect for each other independent struggles (Sharman Pg.17)

In conclusion, Oboler facilitates the understanding of Latino identity formation through a “self and othering process.” With her work we are able to link countless factors that affect Latino identity formation. We explore how immigrant experiences and gender roles attribute to a paradox of attitudes. We also revise the imposed identity of Hispanic, and the complications of bilingualism. In this attempt to understand the Latino identity we venture in to the shadows of assimilation as we contrast assimilation to acculturation. We explore how identity separates and unites the Latino community, but ultimately holds respect for people’s independent political agendas. Finally we must understand that

Latina/o identity formation is complex, and that Latino identity formation is forged under conditions that challenge our identities.

APPENDIX D
JENNY'S WRITING

Jenny's Rhetoric Paper: Women Abuse

The dress that I saw at the University museum made me think of how hard it might be for women that go through life with violence. You don't have to be fat or skinny, rich or poor, it don't matter what color or religion you are. Women abuse is a very common around the world. Women abuse can be a physical, sexual, psychological harm or suffering to women (CTEWA). Women have a greater possibility than men to get abused by their partner. How would you feel if you were in a family abuse situation or going through sexual abuse with your partner?

There are a big number of women getting beat each day. On average more than three women is abuse and murdered by their husband or boyfriend in a day (KCSDV). There are many reasons why those women do not seek for help. One of the main reasons is women are afraid to say something about their partner due to being killed or brutally beat (Bowker, 140). They are more likely to get harm if they run away from their attacker. In fact, they are at a 75 percent higher risk than those who decide to stay with their partner (Letswrap). This is why Alicia Framis decided to make a dress for women who get abused.

The name of the art work is called "Unwanted Sentences" it was created on May 3, 2003 by Alicia Framis. It mainly had to deal with women being abuse. This dress was decorated with printed sentences that abuse women never wanted to hear again. Some of the quotes on the dress were "your good for a fuck," "Can't speak English," and "Don't

touch me.” The dress was made of bullet proof material called Twaron. Alicia framis wanted to concentrate on something that made women feel protective from their offenders. She came up with making the dress from a material that was bullet proof.

The dress is a symbol in telling women that help is given to them and they will be protected. This dress had a major meaning to the women who wore it in Birmingham’s victoria square England. The women who wore the dress felt like no one else was going to hurt them, they were making a stand and telling their offenders that there was not going to be anymore violence towards them. The meaning to me when they wore the dress it was to show their offender that they were probably getting sick of being treated like they were not worth anything.

As I put more thought into the meaning of the dress things started coming up like my own personal life. I understood the reasons why my mother never betrayed my father for being an abusive husband. My mother did not want her children to blame her for not having a father in our lives. She also did not have any family support to help her economically. Most of these women do not have the support by family members to get out the abusive relationship (Deats, 17).

Most of the women who suffer from domestic violence probably have children. The women stay in the relationship due to the infants crying or missing the father (Deats, 18). My mother cared about her children having a father. She went through abuse for eleven years. Once her children were able to make their own decisions she had strength to confront my father about his performance around us. My father would usually be drunk to verbally attack my mother. Drug and alcohol is a major part of a Hispanic family background with abuse (Tritch, p. 63). As we grew up we knew that my mother

was only taking so much abuse from my father to gives us a father. We understood her actions but we were old enough to tell my mother that she had enough abuse from my father.

My father would easily express to the anger when he was drunk. He would use sentences similar to the Framis dress. Men who insult their wife frequently are because they use alcohol abuse as an excuse for their violence. They attempt to rid themselves of responsibility for the problem by blaming it on the effect of alcohol (CTEWA). My father than understood that he had no other choice but to change because his children were later on in life going to deny the existence of him as a father.

This dress made understand so many things. like how my mother was brave enough to stay with an abusive man who did not deserve her. Most of the women do not know how to stand up for themselves. Around the world at least one in three women has been beaten coerced into sex, or otherwise abused during her lifetime (KCSDV). Alicia Framis noticing so much abuse in the world wanted to help the women out. She did it in such an easy way by making clothing out of a material that had so much protection to the person who was wearing it.

She had termination on how to help those women. She mainly focuses and believes she can make a difference in the situation that she is trying to find a solution for. Alicia knew how to do art with anything especially something that will make the women feel secure from their offenders.

APPENDIX E
MARIA'S WRITING

Excerpts From Maria's Autobiography Paper

Note: Maria wrote a 13-page autobiography as an assignment for a Latino/a Studies course. These are excerpts from that paper.

The Truth

As I write this I do not know exactly what to write. The only event that comes to my memory is that of the time when I was young of age. My aunt had come from Texas to California with her two daughters and her husband; she had immigrated due to the economical struggles they were going through in Mexico. She was one the many people that felt the necessity to enter the United States because of the lack of jobs in that country. The experience of her living in my house for a few months taught me that life in Mexico and the United States is different for women, especially married women. Most of the time women are expected to do what their husbands want and to even hold the same respect they have for their husbands as they do for their father. In my family I really did not see this; I grew up with my mother being really independent from my father. I did not grow up with the wish of wanting to get married like many other women do or with the image of women obeying their husbands. I grew up with the image of women being independent regardless, but soon my image was about to shatter . . .

Las Mujeres de Mi Vida

. . . I was born in . . . Mexico. She was just seventeen years old when she had me, inexperienced, young, and new to motherhood. My father was there to witness my birth

in that room where the midwife assisted my young mother . . . For three years I lived in Mexico and in 1989, I migrated with my mother, who was pregnant, to the United States. We arrived at the beautiful city of Los Rios [*pseudonym*] where my father and my grandparents awaited us.

Los Rios was another Mexico, except for the fact that white people lived there and were not tourists and English was spoken. In my house we still spoke Spanish and practice [*sic*] our Mexican culture, just like all the people who lived around us. My mother tells me that when I was three, I used to pretend that I knew how to speak English and talk to her. I would stand in front of a mirror and pretend that someone was there and talk and talk to the mirror standing in front of me. My life when I came to the United States did not change that much, I was still a little girl. Even though I was born in Mexico it was easy for me to adapt to this country. My closest family was near me, it was as if Mexico had made the journey along with me and my mother.

They say that *las mujeres* have a harder life than men. All women have things deep inside that sometimes it is hard for them to bring up to the table. . . . Through my mother is where I have learn [*sic*] to be strong and through the other *mujeres* who have bear with the painful events that have happened in their lives, and through my experience I have learned to be who I am . . . I learned that men experienced similar traumatic events in their lives; I learned that men sometimes are *machistas* because they have learned it through their culture. It is sad to know though, that a lot of people are raising their children in this way. That even women are accepting this and do not change the structure and gender roles in their families.

Dos

As I enter class I think about who I am and where I came from. Sometimes it is hard to find myself between two cultures. Sometimes I am a rebel in one culture and other times I am too submissive in the other. I never find my place in neither place. It is hard when one's mind is always in the middle of two, all the time. I'm still trying to find myself.

When I enter college, I thought I was doing it for myself and my independence from my family. In reality, I was coming to college for my parents, my sisters and for a whole community that needs more professionals in this country. I was going to *la universidad para ser el ejemplo de mis hermanas*. To show my sisters that a Latina who did not have the privilege to attend one of the best high schools could still be in college, thanks to affirmative action and all the hard work done in high school. I did not want to be another statistic; I refused to end up pregnant or drop-out school. I refused to be another number in society . . .

. . . But, college took away my love for school. I thought college was going to be easy, but it was not. I did not come prepare, my teachers in high school did not prepare me to be in one of the top schools in [the state]. In high school, all that administration wants to get rid of you and not really teach you. There are few teachers that actually care about one's education. I thank those few teachers who taught me well.

I crashed between two worlds the one in college and the one back at home. I felt so independent in college and so dependent at home. One allowed me to do whatever I wanted and the other wanted me to respect the house and ask, always, for permission. Who was I? I did not know which person I was. Who was I truly? For the first time I

could not find myself. I went through a difficult time, trying to find the real person inside of me. I remember a big fight I had with my mother where she told me that she thought college made people decent and better not alcoholics. She called it *un lugar de perdición*, and that if that was the reason I went to college, to go out and go wild.

Those words hurt me so much. She did not know what I went through. She did not know that I tried to refuse to be like those white girls people talked about. I did not want to be that because I do not have the privilege of having connections. I did not have the privilege of being in a good high school. I had to work harder in college. I was not here for that she is right, I am here to graduate.

Maria's Poem

tape

On his lips he hides the true meaning of love

But he does not know it

He refuses

To say it

He covers his lips with tape

Black, dusty, tape

Across his lips

And across my chest

there is a scar

Of the time he broke my heart

When he said no

He refused to say the "L" word

Am I not what you wanted?

Did I not

Make

Love

to you

and savor your flavor

your sweet flesh

why do I hesitate?

Tears in my eyes

How did I fail?

I try

Believe me

I did

I tried showing you love

And it hurts

And my eyes become watery

Water

Falls

Am I not what you wanted?

And I pressure you more to say

I

Love

You

And you will never do

→ push out this line further ~

equi
dice
equal?

let's try to edit the work better
so that it doesn't read so awkwardly

Because that tape
Is strong
That tape covers your delicious lips
And baby
I can't help it
I can't take it
Across my chest
There is a pain
And not it is not the tequila
that burns me
It is not the alcohol
that pushes me

It is the silence
It is the desperation
I want to love
I want to be loved
He covers his lips with tape
Transparent, clean, tape
He only speaks the truth
He

Will
Never

Love me

from

stunna break ?

in a sense,
I wonder if we can compare the
tape to other things —
or call it other things —
a seal
a bandage

APPENDIX F

NICOLAS'S WRITING

Nicolas's Rhetoric Paper

The Effects of One Language

"Bilingualism in America: English Should Be the Official Language" is an article written by S. I. Hayakawa. In this article the author argues the reasons and advantages that would be a result of declaring an official language in the United States; in this case, English would be the stated language. Hayakawa backs up his case by giving the facts about bilingual education and exemplifying other countries like India and Belgium, who have more than one certified language. After analyzing every argument and reasoning behind the author's article the readers can conclude that his organization, content and language persuades us and blinds us to the true facts; therefore, it gives us an idea that his opinion is right and credible.

comma splice
Hayakawa starts his article by giving us facts about the importance of the English language. For example, he explains how two opposite cultures that had differences in the past were unified by the English language. Also, he illustrates how having more than one language affects the countries by segregating people because of the language they speak and how it becomes a separation of the country. In addition, another problem would be money; for example in Canada "its bilingual costs are nearly \$400,000,000 per year." However, the author makes a transition and concentrates in the education programs, programs whose purpose is to teach immigrants in their native language and fail to the purpose of teaching English. Then, he switches his entire argument to politics and voting, explaining how the ballots shouldn't come in different languages, so the majority of the people who are immigrants would have to learn

English in order for them to vote. This excludes a lot of people from knowing who they are voting for. Also this is the way to show immigrants that in order for them to do "American" things they have to learn English.

Hayakawa is known to be a "tricky" writer, the genius behind his work is that he knows what to say in order to prove a point; however he doesn't prove the main point most of the time but the sub points of his article. Also, the way he uses his expertise helps the reader relate to his writing; for example, at the beginning of his paragraphs or new sentences he would start them by saying "As an immigrant", "As a professor", "As a politician", "As an educated man", etc. This gives the readers something to relate to. Because of the fact he was educated and smart, ^{and an immigrant and a Californian politician} Hayakawa knows how to approach an audience and win their credibility but if the audience pays close attention, they would figure out that his topic has nothing to do with his article.

The content of this article has many facts and evidence that is carefully categorized by the author. This article gives us many different examples about the results of having more than one language. For example, the evidence shown in this article is mostly negative; in this article there is no evidence of positive outcomes of having more than one official language. Throughout ~~of~~ the article, it is possible to assume that the audience the author is trying to reach is monolingual because of the fact that this article was posted in USA Today; therefore ^{underline or italicize} ~~most of~~ the audience would have known English in order for them to read the article. The most effective way he makes his argument is by giving the readers a content that would give them a logical conclusion, not a conclusion that they will make on their own.

He uses a lot of emotional appeal in this article; for example he uses examples that are moving and significant enough to change their mind. This is a good strategy because it's meant to work as an impact for the reader; for example, when he talks about education he shows true

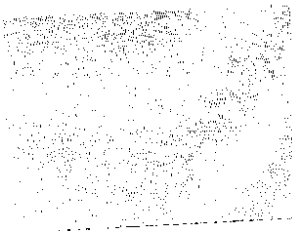
facts of how the education system lacks at teaching immigrants how to speak English. Also, it shows the monetary cost that it would be brought up if we have more than one official language. However, ^{these} these facts do not mean that we should have one official language; they don't necessary prove that point.

The organization of this article is formatted to focus on the audience's emotions. This article's organization starts with a ^{? does it?} general overview of the problem, for example it talks about how having one language can bond and unify different cultures. Also, having more than one language can bring monetary problems, problems that affect a whole nation. Therefore many people can relate to it, but in this case the biggest audience would be a monolingual audience. ^{is this general?} By a point about the middle of the article the author makes a transition from having a general overview to focusing on education. The author shows how not having one official language affects the education of immigrants and non English speakers. The way Hayakawa makes transitions from one thing to another seems to be very effective; he tries to prove as many points as he can in order to find his credibility with the audience. *this seems to mostly repeat what you've already said without making much of a point about the organization*

The author is focusing on immigrants learning English but he implies false reasoning. ^{says} (would say) something like "I want to see immigrant students finish their high school education and be able to compare for college scholarships" (Hayakawa 194). However, he states this because he wants you to think that having one official language will accomplish this. He is trying to prove a point ^{but} using facts and giving us different meanings. In this part of the article, he focuses his audience in a monolingual audience. However at the last part of the article he completely switches his focus and goes from education to voting. He twists the facts with the language he uses; he says the same things in different ways. ^{he says} For example, "Communication with each other in a single, common tongue encourages trust, while reducing racial hostility and

bigotry" (Hayakawa 190). He is trying to say that English as an official language would stop racism. He is very good at proving all his sub points because all of them are true, but he does not accomplish the job of proving his main point. *you seem to be saying that he's not even that good at proving sub points.*

The author does not prove many of his points by giving us "twisted" facts and realities, but he does make us think differently for a minute. The author does tell us what to think and what to think about in this article. Everything he says is believable and true, but at this point that is not what ~~it~~ matters. ~~For example, as mention above~~ he tries to scare us and impact us with many true facts like monetary problems that would be brought up if we have more than one official language. Also the way he writes the numbers in the article and not the word is use impact us. In addition, he brings out the problem that the education system has and the percentages of how many immigrants learn English in the school, the rate is outrageous and terrible, but once again it does not prove the point that we should have one official language. This article is written to change people's minds in having only one language as the official one but it does not prove any point towards that subject.



- this paper contains lots of great content where you explain what's wrong with the author's reasoning and point out the holes in his logic.

The many semi-colon sentence structure is clumsy (esp. with "for example"). Ask me how to avoid this in tutorials.

Also, I'm not clear if you think he makes his minor point but not his major point or if you think he doesn't even make the minor points.

(91)

APPENDIX G

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENT PARTICIPANTS

Today's date: _____

Personal information

Last name: _____ First name: _____

Email address: _____

City, state/province of birth: _____ Date of birth: _____

What is your first language? _____ Your second language? _____

Other languages? _____

What was your age of arrival to the United States? _____

Please indicate where you have lived:

City	State	Country	From (month/year)	To (month/year)
				present

Educational background

Number of years of school completed in the United States		
School	Years completed	Language of instruction
k-12		
College/university		
Other		
Total		

Number of years of school completed outside of U.S.:		
School	Years completed	Language of instruction
k-12		
College/university		
Other		
Total		

1. Where did you graduate from high school?

City: _____

State/province/region: _____

Country: _____

Did you participate at any time in English as a second language or bilingual education courses? If so, where and for how long?

2. When did you first enroll in at the university?

Month _____ Year _____

4. What courses are you enrolled in at the university this semester?

5. What courses have you taken at the university in previous semesters?

Have you taken any courses at any other institutions (for example at a community college)? If so, which one(s) and for how long?

Language background

1. Who do you typically speak English with?

2. Who do you typically speak Spanish with?

3. When do you write in English? Who do you write to/for?

4. When do you write in Spanish? Who do you write to/for?

5. How would you rate your abilities in Spanish?

Speaking:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Reading:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Writing:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Vocabulary:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Grammar:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

5. How would you rate your abilities in English?

Speaking:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Reading:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Writing:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Vocabulary:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

Grammar:

1	2	3	4	5
Poor		Average		Excellent

APPENDIX H
STUDENT INTERVIEWS

#1: History

*The numbered questions written in bold are major questions.
The lettered questions underneath the bold questions are probes.*

1. Tell me about your family.

- a. What languages are spoken in your family?
- b. What language do you use with your family?
- c. How is it that your family came to live in the U.S.?
- d. Do you still have connections with your family abroad?
- e. What is your parents' occupation?

2. When and where did you learn English?

- a. What are some of your positive/negative experiences with language learning?
- b. What do you remember about how you felt about English?

3. What instruction did you receive in Spanish and/or ESL in elementary school, middle school and/or high school?

- a. Did you take ESL classes?
- b. Did you receive any instruction in Spanish?
- c. What are some of your positive/negative experiences with language learning?

4. Did you learn to write/read in Spanish?

- a. What types of writing/reading did you do in Spanish?

4. Describe your experiences in elementary school, middle school and/or high school.

- a. What were some of the things you were good at in school?
- b. What were some of the things you struggled with?
- c. What were some of the things you liked about school?
- d. What were some of the things you didn't like about school?
- e. What do you remember about how you felt about school?
- f. What are some of your positive/negative experiences with being a student?
- g. If you could go back and thank one of your teachers for something they said or did, who would it be and why? and/or If you could go back and tell one of your teachers something you wish they'd done differently, who would it be and why?

5. How did you learn to write in English?

- a. What were some of the writing assignments you received?
- b. What was an assignment or activity that you particularly liked?
- c. What was an assignment or activity that you did not like?
- d. What do you remember about how you learned to write in English at that time?
- e. What do you remember about how you felt about writing?
- f. What are some of your positive/negative experiences with learning to write?

#2: Current Experiences With Writing

The numbered questions written in bold are major questions.

The lettered questions underneath the bold questions are probes.

1. What has your experience been like so far at this university?

- a. Why did you decide to become a student at this university?
- b. When did you first decide that you wanted to study at a university?
- c. What assistance did you receive in preparing to be a student here?

2. Tell me about the classes you are taking now.

- a. Why did you decide to take the classes you signed up for this semester?
- b. What are you majoring in or what do you want to major in?

3. What do you do in your classes?

- a. What type of writing?
- b. How does your instructor teach writing?
- c. What are some of the writing assignments you have had this semester?
- d. What do you think about the writing instruction you get?
- e. What feedback do you receive from your teacher about your writing? What do you think about it? Have you received that feedback before? Do you know what to do with that feedback?
- f. If you could make any suggestion you wanted to your teacher, what would it be?

4. What do you write outside of classes?

- a. In what contexts do you use different languages and for what purposes?

5. What do you think about writing?

- a. When writing in English, do you think in English or do you think in another language and translate into English?
- b. What do you think makes a good writer?
- c. What are the differences between a good writer in your first language and a good writer in English?
- d. What are some of your strengths and weaknesses in writing in your first language?
- e. What are some of your strengths and weaknesses in writing in English?
- f. What do you think is the most important thing for students to learn about writing in English?
- g. How is learning about writing in your first language different from learning about writing in the English?
- h. What is hard about writing? What is easy about writing?

6. What resources do you use when you write?

- a. The writing center? Friends? Resources on the internet? Resources in the library? A formal mentor? An informal mentor?
- b. How do those things help you?

#3: Reflective Interview

In this interview I will ask questions about how students make meaning of their experiences with writing. I will do this, for example, by referring to topics discussed from the first interview and asking how they relate to topics discussed in the second interview. I will ask the students how their answers relate to some topics they discussed in one of the previous interviews. Examples:

In light of what you have said in the past interviews, where do you see yourself going in the future?

Thinking about what you said about your life before you came to the university and what you said about your life now, how do you understand language, writing, and being a student in your life?

What connections can you make between your experiences before coming to the university and your current experiences?

Do you think your native language has any influence on your current writing in English?

Do you think your educational background has any influence on your current writing in English?

What do you think about writing?

How do you think you will use what you are learning about writing in the future?

In this interview I will also ask the students for any additional specific information I need to find out about their classes, etc.

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Jason Stegemoller earned his BA in psychology from Indiana University in 1993. He taught English as a second language at an adult education center in New York City, and English as a foreign language to children and adults in Finland. He earned his MA in Teaching English as a second Language from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1999, and subsequently taught English as a Second language at Michigan State University, and at Parkland Community College in Illinois. While a doctoral student at the University of Illinois, Jason served as a research assistant on two research teams: Crossing Contexts (principal investigator Dr. Renee T. Clift), and Instruction of Reading Comprehension Grant (principal investigator Dr. Georgia E. García). Jason also served as the project coordinator for a federally funded grant called Improving Bilingual and ESL Education, directed by Dr. Georgia E. García. Jason was also a teaching assistant for courses in the College of Education: *Middle School Language Arts Theory and Practice*, *Assessing Student Performance*, and *Methods of Educational Inquiry*. Jason has presented widely at national conferences, he has published his work in a peer reviewed journal, and has co-authored a book chapter, and an article that appeared in a conference proceedings.